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cases of bankruptcy in the Charleston district.<sup>104</sup> Even in 1873 it was said to be impossible to raise money in Columbia. All the banks had ceased discounting notes, even upon the best collaterals. They already had out every dollar they could spare with safety, and borrowers offering two per cent per month, with good security, went begging.<sup>105</sup>

In addition to the loss of banking capital, the endowments of colleges and charitable institutions had disappeared, as well as the \$200,000,000 invested in the State's 400,000 slaves. The *Charleston Daily News*<sup>106</sup> estimated that the property values of the State had sunk from \$400,000,000 to a little more than \$50,000,000, and Governor Orr estimated that the war destroyed one-half of the property values and that during the three years following various causes had produced another decline of one-half.<sup>107</sup> The estimated true value of the real and personal property in the State in 1870 was \$208,146,989, whereas in 1860 it had been \$548,138,754.<sup>108</sup> The total assessed value for taxation in 1860 was \$489,319,128, in 1870 it was only \$183,913,337, a decrease of 62.4 per cent.<sup>109</sup> So far as its rank in absolute wealth was concerned, as compared with the other states of the Union in the estimated true valuation of real and personal property, South Carolina had dropped from eleventh place in 1860 to twenty-seventh place in 1870. In 1870 the true valuation of its per capita wealth was estimated at \$295.00; it had dropped from third place in 1860 to fortieth place in 1870.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1870.

<sup>105</sup> *News and Courier*, June 5, 1873.

<sup>106</sup> Quoted in *Winnsboro Tri-Weekly News*, Sept. 12, 1865.

<sup>107</sup> *News*, July 11, 1868.

<sup>108</sup> *U. S. Census*, 1870, III, 10.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 7.



# MORGAN EDWARDS' MATERIALS TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN THE PROV. INCE OF NORTH CAROLINA

By G. W. PASCHAL

## INTRODUCTION

Reverend Morgan Edwards, one of the ablest Baptist preachers of America, was born in Wales in May, 1722, was educated at Bristol College, preached in England and Ireland for many years, and in 1761 came to America to become pastor of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia. In that pastorate he remained until 1770. Very early after coming to America he began to take an active interest in education, and was one of the prime movers in the organization of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, and had a chief part in securing its charter, which he counted his greatest service to the Baptist cause. In this institution he held a Fellowship until 1789. He also was a friend to the Academy of Philadelphia, afterwards the University of Pennsylvania, which in 1769 made him honorary Master of Arts.

In the beginning of the Revolutionary War he showed attachment to the Royal Family of Great Britain, and though he never intended any harm to the United States or in any way abetted the cause of the enemy, he was classed as a Tory and his property confiscated. He did not, however, harbor any resentment on this account, but as the law required did not preach during the years of the war.

Mr. Edwards was a prolific writer, having to his credit several published and many unpublished works. For us by far the most important of his writings are his volumes on Baptist church history, which he called *Materials*. His purpose in gathering the information contained in them is explained in the following paragraph from a sketch in "Rippon's Register," II, 313, written by his successor in the Philadelphia pastorate, Dr. William Rogers:

In the first volume of his *Materials*, he proposed a plan for uniting all the Baptists of the Continent in one body politic, by having the Association at Philadelphia (the centre) incorporated by charter, and



by taking one delegate from each Association into the corporation; but finding this impracticable at the time, he visited the churches from New Hampshire to Georgia, gathering materials towards the history of the whole.

The first volume spoken of above was that for Pennsylvania, which was published in 1770. In pursuit of his purpose to gather materials for the other volumes he spent most of the years 1771 and 1772 traveling through Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, visiting churches and associations. Such information as he collected he wrote in notebooks, one for each of these provinces. These notebooks, except that for Maryland, are now in the Library of the American Baptist Historical Society, at Chester, Pennsylvania. They are most neatly written, in good ink, and are easily legible. In 1877, Mr. J. C. Birdsong, then state librarian, borrowed the notebook for North Carolina from Mr. Horatio Gates Jones, of Philadelphia, in whose possession it was at that time, and copied it, but not entirely accurately, for the North Carolina State Library, where it may now be found. It is entitled *Tour of Morgan Edwards, of Pennsylvania, to the American Baptists in North Carolina in 1772-73*. Later Mr. Edwards expanded the matter contained in these notebooks into what he called "volumes," one for each of the Provinces of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, adding some new matter but omitting some things that we of today find of much interest. This finished work was freely used by Benedict, the Baptist historian for the first edition of his work, *Baptists of America*, 1813. Since that time it does not seem to have been used by any writer. It has long been in the possession of the Furman family of South Carolina. In 1877, a copy of all was made by Mr. Samuel C. Clopton. This copy is now in the Library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary of Louisville, Kentucky. Of this the editor secured a type-written copy. Later he learned that the original was in the hands of Mr. Alester G. Furman, of Greenville, South Carolina. Mr. Furman kindly consented that the editor might have his copy collated with the original, and this work has been done by Professor Frank K. Poole, of Furman University, a trained and accurate scholar. Accordingly it is hoped that the text printed below will be an exact copy of the original. Professor



Poole has also had a photograph of the title page made which is given herewith. The work, embracing the volumes for all the Southern Provinces, was written in one blank book, about three quarters of an inch thick, with pages  $8\frac{1}{4}$  by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The cover has been lost and so has the title page of the Maryland volume, which was numbered Volume II in the Clopton copy. Then follow Virginia, Volume III; North Carolina, Volume IV; South Carolina, Volume V; and Georgia, Volume VI, title page only. Mr. Poole says further:

The writing is what is usually termed printing. That on the title page is characteristic. It is well spaced; the paragraphs are clearly indented; the margin lines are straight, and were evidently indicated by some liner or contrivance. On some of the pages which were left blank for adding other material one may see the traces of this "liner" or device that was used to indicate the margins; there are also slight perforations down this marginal line to indicate the space between the sentences. There was also a liner for the sentences—hence their evenness. The writing is all easily legible. The pages are numbered only in Volume V, on South Carolina. In collating the Volume for North Carolina I have kept count of the pages and indicate them.

The character and historic value of the materials which Mr. Edwards gathered are indicated by him in an "Advertisement" found in front of Volume I, the published volume on Pennsylvania, which reads:

The following materials have been collected partly from knowledge, partly from church books, and partly from information; collections from the two former may be exact; but those from the latter may not be so, because old memories are unsafe records.

It is usually patent to the reader from which of these sources any statement is derived. The editor will endeavor to point out in footnotes such errors as occur in the volume on the North Carolina Baptists.



# M A T E R I A L S

TOWARDS

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH-CAROLINA

VOL. IV

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By Morgan Edwards A.M. and fellow of Rhodeisland college

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*Lo a people that dwell alone and shall not be reckoned among the nations. Num. xxiii. 9*

M. D. CCLXXII



## MATERIALS &amp;c &amp;c

Next to Virginia, southward, is North-carolina; a poor and unhappy province, where superiors make complaints of the people, and the people of their superiors; which complaints, if just, show the body politic to be like that of Israel in the time of Isaiah "From the sole of the foot to the crown of the head without any soundness, but wounds and bruises and putrifying sores." These complaints rose to hostilities at Almance-creek (May. 16. 1771) where about 6000 appeared in arms and fought each other, 4000 Regulators killing three Tryonians; and 2000 Tryonians killing twelve Regulators, besides lodging in the trees an incredible number of balls which the hunters have since picked out, and therewith have killed more deer and turkies than they killed of their antagonists. In this wretched province have been some baptists since the settlement in 1695;<sup>1</sup> but no society of them till about the year 1742,<sup>2</sup> when one was formed about Quehuky:<sup>3</sup> these came hither from Isle-of-wight-county in Virginia, having one William Sojourner to their minister. In 12 years this society had spread her branches through the north & north-east parts, and become 16 churches. They were all *General-baptists*. But about 1751 they began to embrace the sentiments of the *Particular-baptists*, and have since come into those sentiments, except Mr Parker and his church, and some others. The cause was, partly the preaching of Rev. Robert Williams<sup>4</sup> of Pedee, partly the conversation of a lay-man, commonly called the Slay-maker:<sup>5</sup> His name

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Edwards was misinformed as to the date of the first settlement of North Carolina. It was forty years earlier than 1695. He means only to say that there were Baptists in the Province from its settlement, whenever that was.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Edwards is in error as to the date of the earliest Baptist church in North Carolina. This was gathered in 1727 in Chowan County about ten miles north of Edenton. Cf. *Diary of John Comer*, p. 84f., under date of September 27, 1729: "This day, I received a letter from ye Baptist Church in North Carolina, settled about two years ago (in ye year 1727) since by Mr. Paul Palmer. . . . This church consists of 32 members. it meets at Chowan." The Signers of the letter as their names are given by Comer, were all residents of the Poplar Run section of Chowan. This is made certain by comparison of the names signed to the letter with the accounts of conveyances and wills in Hathaway's *Historical and Genealogical Register*.

A second Baptist church, which survives to this day as the church of Shiloh in Camden County, was registered in a petition dated September 5, 1729. This petition praying for registration of the congregation "meeting together for Religious worship In ye Dwelling House of William Burges, on the North side of Pascotanc, on the head of Raymond's Creek," is still extant and is published in Hathaway's *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, p. 283.

A third Baptist church was that of Meherrin, near the present town of Murfreesboro, the accepted date of whose founding is 1729, but the earliest documentary date is that of the building of the church in 1735. S. J. Wheeler. *Meherrin Church*, reprinted in "N. C. Baptist Historical Papers" I, 41ff. According to Mr. J. W. Moore, author of the *School History*, about the year 1740, some members of the Meherrin church were given letters and formed the church of Sandy Run, near the present town of Roxobel. Moore's Ms. *History of North Carolina Baptists*, in Library of Dr. T. M. Pittman of Henderson, N. C.

In 1740 a Baptist congregation at New Bern was petitioning to be allowed to build a house of worship. See Court Records of Craven County, now in the files of the North Carolina State Historical Commission. On April 25, 1742 another petition from Protestant Dissenters of Bay and Neuse rivers, was filed with Chief Justice Montgomery, asking for a privilege, theretofore refused, of registering certain places of worship. This was signed by at least three who were afterwards known Baptist preachers, to wit, Dr. Josiah Hart, George Graham, and William Fulsher. This petition may be found in the Court Records in the files of the North Carolina Historical Commission and was published, some of the names being miscopied, by Hathaway, *Register*, Vol. II, 198.

There is other evidence to show that Edwards was wrong in supposing that the North Carolina Baptists had their development solely from Kehukee.

<sup>3</sup> Kehukee. The spelling of Mr. Edwards, who often writes "Qu" for "K," was probably due to the fact that he was a Welshman.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Williams here mentioned was native of Northampton County. He went to the Welsh Neck settlement on the Pee Dee in 1745, and became pastor of that church in 1752, but served only a short pastorate. He died in 1768. Morgan Edwards, *Materials* for S. C.

<sup>5</sup> A slay (sley) is a weaver's reed. In colonial days a sley-maker's services were often needed.



was William Wallis; but chiefly, a visit which [p. 2] Mr Gano<sup>6</sup> paid them in 1753.<sup>7</sup> On his arrival he sent to the ministers, requesting an interview; which they declined, and appointed a meeting among themselves to consult what to do; Mr Gano, hearing of it, went to their meeting, and addressed them in words to this effect, 'I have desired a visit from you which, as a brother and a stranger, I had a right to expect; but as ye have refused, I give up my claim, and am come to pay you a visit.' With that he ascended into the pulpit, and read for his text the following words, *Jesus I know, and Paul I know but who are ye?* this text he managed in such a manner as to make some affraid of him, and others ashamed of their shiness. Many were convinced of errors touching faith and conversion, and submitted to examination. One minister hearing this (who stood well with himself) went to be examined, and intimated to his people, he should return triumphant. Mr. Gano heard him out and then turned to his companion and said "I profess, brother, this will not do: this man has yet the needful to seek." Upon which the person examined hastened home, and upon being asked, How he came off? replied "The Lord have mercy upon you; for this northern minister put a *mene tekel* upon me!" Three years after (1755) mes. Miller and Vanhorn<sup>8</sup> were sent among them who reformed their churches agreeable to the churches belonging to the philadelphian association. About the year 1743 one Paul Palmer<sup>9</sup> gather a little

<sup>6</sup> John Gano is recognized by Baptist historians as one of the ablest and most versatile of American Baptist ministers. As sketches of him are easily accessible I mention only his activities in North Carolina. He was first in the Province as a missionary of the Philadelphia Association in 1754 and not 1753, as Edwards says. He next came as a missionary of the Charleston Association in 1756, laboring on the Yadkin River. Furman, *Charleston Association minutes for 1755-56*. He was pastor of the church at Jersey Settlement on the Yadkin 1757-60, when he left the province to escape the incursions of the Indians. He visited the region of the upper Yadkin again in 1773.

<sup>7</sup> This meeting was probably on Gano's return trip, after he had visited Charleston, and at the Upper Fishing Creek Church, now Reedy Creek in Warren County. According to Burkitt and Read, "In May, that year, (1755), Elder John Gano, from the North, visited this place, and seeing the situation of affairs, probably represented the case, on his return to the Philadelphia Association." *Kehukee Association*, p. 230. Edwards' date for the visit in North Carolina is shown by a sketch of his life based on Gano's journal to be wrong. "He was ordained in May, 1754, and set out in a short time after." Benedict, *History of Baptist*, II, 310.

<sup>8</sup> Rev. Benjamin Miller and Rev. Peter P. Vanhorn were two of the ablest ministers of the Philadelphia Association, the former being pastor of the church at Scotch Plains, New Jersey, and latter pastor of the church at Pennepek. They came to North Carolina as missionaries of the Association, the churches of which contributed to pay their expenses. They left Philadelphia in October, 1755, and were in North Carolina until about the close of 1756. In this time they gained all the churches of the General Baptists, except three, in eastern North Carolina to the Particular Baptist order. While in North Carolina Miller spent a few weeks with the church at Jersey Settlement, which was a colony from his neighborhood, whom he had previously visited on the Yadkin. Foote, *Sketches*, 167, 171.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Palmer was a native of Maryland, was baptized at Welsh Tract in Delaware, and ordained in Connecticut. After serving churches in New Jersey and Maryland he came to North Carolina. The year of his coming is not known, but in 1720 he was at Edenton and married Joanna Peterson, widow of Thomas Peterson, a man of prominence in colonial affairs, who had been church warden of St. Paul's Parish, and had given the land on which the town of Edenton was built. For marriage see Hathaway. *Historical and Genealogical Register* III, 284. For Thomas Peterson see Index to *Colonial Records* and references there cited. Palmer and his wife were brought into court on the charge of stealing a Negro, but the case was never tried and was probably malicious, since the chief witness "absconded the court," and Palmer was soon after a grandjuror in the very court in which the charge against him had been made. *Colonial Records* II, 596. Soon after his marriage he moved with his wife to her estate in Perquimans, (she was the daughter of Juliana Laker. Grimes. *Wills*, (206) and lived there the remainder of his life, dying probably about 1743. He gathered his first church in Chowan in 1727; his name is found on the petition for the registration of the church now called Shiloh in Camden County, which is dated September 5, 1729. In 1729 he had become so active in his evangelizing as to attract the attention of Governor Everard. *Colonial Records*, III, 48. On October 4, 1738 he obtained a license "to Teach or preach the word of God in any part of the said province." Hathaway, *Register*, II, 195. Edwards says that he gathered a church on New River, Onslow County, about the year 1743. Palmer was in correspondence with Baptist ministers in the Northern Provinces, among them Rev. John Comer of Newport, R. I., who in his Diary often refers to Palmer's letters, and speaks of him as a man of worth.



society in the south east part of the province, Near the same time some of the *particular* baptists from Pedee settled near the southern line and raised an interest in those parts of the province. In 1755 a small company from Connecticut came and settled in the forks of Capefear river at a place called Sandy-creek. they were 16 souls in number, having Shu[p. 3]bal Stearns to their minister: these were the beginning of what are commonly, tho' improperly, called *Separat-baptists*, who soon spread thro' the province, to South-carolina and Georgia, and northward, to Virginia, as we have already seen. Near the same time (1742) the *Tunker-baptists* from Pennsylvania arrived in this province, and settled about the north branch of Pedee, being the southwest parts of the province: these had Rev. Daniel Leatherman to their minister. Besides these, I know of no other companies that migrated to North-carolina. Hence it appears that the distinctions of *Regular-baptists*, *Separate-baptists*, *General-baptists*, and *Tunker-baptists*<sup>10</sup> take place in this province.

## PART I

### TREATS OF THE REGULAR BAPTISTS IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

They are called *regular* to distinguish them from the *Separatists*; and *particular*, to distinguish them from the *arminians*. The faith and order of these people are agreeable to the *Century* confession,<sup>11</sup> and the treatise of discipline thereto annexed; only some come short of these tests by laying aside *imposition of hands*, and *ruling elders* &c; and others go beyond the same standards by admitting *love-feasts*, *washing feet*, *anointing the sick* &c Of these there are in the province churches. We begin with

<sup>10</sup> For the general reader the terms General Baptists, Particular Baptists, Separate Baptists, and Tunker Baptists need definition. General Baptists are those who are Arminians and believe that in the death of Christ general provision was made for the salvation of all men and any one may be saved by believing on Jesus Christ. The Particular Baptist on the other hand are Calvinists, and their creed is that God before the foundation of the world elected only particular individuals to be saved, and that those so elected cannot be lost, while those not elected cannot be saved. They adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith. The Separate Baptists, who were at first called Newlight Baptists, were in some respects followers of Whitefield, making much of the work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of men and in the guidance of Christians. They had no creed but the Bible. At first they were predominantly Arminian but later many of them became rigid Calvinists. The General Baptists were nearly obliterated by the transformation wrought by Miller and Vanhorn; those few churches which survived have been continued to this day as Free Will Baptists, who in North Carolina have about 30,000 members, much the largest group of that order in existence. After the rise of the Separate Baptists the Particular Baptists began to call themselves Regular Baptist. The distinction between Regulars and Separates soon came to be disregarded; churches of both orders were united in that division of the Kehukee Association which followed Burkitt after the split in 1775; the names were declared obsolete in 1788. The Missionary Baptists of to-day have characteristics inherited from all three orders, General, Particular, and Separate.

The Tunker Baptists, who call themselves "Brethern" originated in Schwartzenu, Germany, about 1708. To escape persecution they emigrated to Pennsylvania, where they settled in considerable numbers from 1719 to 1730, and have greatly prospered in numbers and wealth. They hold in the main the same doctrines as the "Regular" Baptists, but add some peculiarities of practice, chief among which is trine immersion." Vedder, *Primer of Baptist History*. Their churches in North Carolina soon became extinct.

<sup>11</sup> The name sometimes given the Second London Confession of the Particular Baptists, first issued in 1677 and again in 1689, so called seemingly because it was put forth by "upwards of one hundred congregations." In reality it was the "Westminster Confession, altered to suit Baptist views of the church and its ordinances." McGlothlin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, 216. But Edwards is here referring to the modification of this Confession, called now the Philadelphia Confession, put forth by the Philadelphia Association in 1742.



HITCHCOOK.<sup>12</sup>

A creek which empties into Pedee, in Anson county, 200 miles wbs from Newburn [p. 4] and miles SSW from Philadelphia. No meetinghouse. No estate. No salary, except presents to the amount of about 20£. Laying on of hands and ruling elders admitted. The families about 28 whereof 14 persons are baptized. This their present state. They had their beginning in this manner. About 4 years ago Mr. Easterling preached in the neighbourhood and proselyted one Jonathan Lewelin,<sup>13</sup> Wm. Moody, Thos. Summerling, Wm. Leggate,<sup>14</sup> Wm Smith, Mary Smith, Nathaniel Williams and Fanny Williams. Thes 8 persons, with said Easterling, were Mar. 28. 1772 constituted into a church by Mes. Morgan Edwards and John Brown. The minister is

*Rev. Henry Easterling*

Born, May, 24. 1733, at the mouth of Nuse-river. Bred a churchman. Baptised in 1760 by Rev. George Graham. Ordained, Mar. 29, 1772, by said Edwards and Brown, at which time he became minister of the church. Married Elizabeth Bennet by whom he has children, James, Elizabeth, William, Mary, Martha, Shadrack, Henry, Bennet, John, Joel.

## QUEHUKY

So called from a creek running by the meeting house & emptying into the Roanoak, in Halifax county, 120 miles N W from Newburn, and 500 SSW from Philadelphia.<sup>15</sup> The house is 40 feet by 20, built in 1742, on land given by William Sojourner. No estate. No salary, except presents to the amount of about 30£. Ruling elders and laying on of hands admit[p. 5]ted. The families about 150 whereof 115 persons are baptized and in communion, here administered the first Lords day in Feb. May. Aug. Nov. The present minister Rev. Wm. Burgess. This, their present state. They had their beginning from Burley in Virginia about the year 1742,<sup>16</sup> and continued a society of general baptists to Dec. 11, 1755 when the following persons (embracing the calvinistic sentiments) were reformed by means of mes. Benj. Miller and P. P.

<sup>12</sup> Hitchcock's Creek is a small stream of Richmond County, emptying into Falling Creek near Rockingham. We hear no more of this church or its pastor. The Rev. John Brown who assisted in the ordination of Easterling was a member of the Welsh Neck Church on the Pee Dee. *Materials for S. C.*

<sup>13</sup> Jonathan Lewelin[g] was one of the signers of Anson County petition for relief from oppressions at the time of the Regulator troubles. *Colonial Records*, VIII, 79.

<sup>14</sup> Wm. Legl[ate] was one of the building commissioners appointed in the Act for the erection of Richmond County in 1779. *State Records*, XXIV, 238.

<sup>15</sup> The Kehukee church is about two miles from Scotland Neck, a name which is used by Mr. Edwards also. It is now a church of the Primitive Baptists.

<sup>16</sup> Knight, *History of the General Baptists*, p. 317, has this statement with reference to this migration: "About fifty years after the formation of the Burley Church, that place was visited with a wasting pestilential disease, which swept off many of the inhabitants, and a number of the members of this society fell victims to its ravages; and many of the survivors, with elder William Sojourner, on account of the unhealthiness of the place, removed to Kehukee Creek in North Carolina."



Vanhorn, viz Rev. Thos. Pope and wife, Abraham Dew, Abner Andrews, Richard Baily, John Rhodes, John Moore, Francis Spivy,<sup>17</sup> Jaen Bryant & Eliz. Atkison. The most remarkable things that may be said of this church are, That it is the first in the province,<sup>18</sup> and the mother of many; that it existed on the arminian plan for 13 years, and was the first yt became calvinistic. The first minister was

*Rev. William Sojourner<sup>19</sup>*

He is said to have been a most excellent man; and to have had the care of the church for about 7 years. He died, Feb. 18, 1749, aged 43 years and 7 months. This date I found on a cedar rail put over his grave by his surviving friend Rev. Josiah Hart.<sup>20</sup> His wife was Mary West (alias widow Boykin) by whom he had children, Jacob, Ann, Tamar. Assistant to him was one Edward Brown, but whether ordained or not, and when he died, do not appear. he was the first who embraced calvinism. His successor was

*Rev. Thomas Pope*

Born near Blackwater in Virginia. Bread a churchman. [p. 6] Was ordained to the care of this church about the year 1751 where-in he continued to his death, which came to pass Mar. 1. 1762. He was at first a general baptist, and continued such to the year 1755 when he and most of the church embraced the doctrines of grace, and occasioned the reform, before mentioned, usually called, The new constitution. He married Alice Foreman (alias, widow Ford) by whom he had children, Edith, Amos; he single; she married to Rich. Hamlin. Mr. Pope's successor was

*Rev. John Meglamre*

A native of Maryland. Born Jan. 7, 1730, and bred a presbyterian. Embraced the sentiments of the Baptist in 1760, and had the ordinance administered to him at Fishing-creek by Wm Walker. Ordained the 2d Saturday in Feb. 1767. Took the care of this church in 1768. Resigned it to go to Notaway,<sup>21</sup> May 2. 1772. He married Lettice Nelms by whom he has children, Sarah, Ann, Elizabeth. His successor is

<sup>17</sup> Francis Spivy is mentioned as a petitioner for land in Edgecombe in 1745, *Colonial Records*, IV, 761; Abraham Dew as a juror, 1739-40, *Ibid.*, 528. Abraham Dew and Edward Brown were executors of the will of William Bryant, probated in Edgecombe in 1749, and Thos. Pope a witness. Grimes, *N. C. Wills*, p. 54.

<sup>18</sup> See statement above in note as to the earliest Baptist churches in the Province.

<sup>19</sup> In his notebook and once below Edwards spells the name Surgenor, which suggests that it was accented on the first syllable. In the original notebook, the date of his death is given as 1749/50, which by new style is 1750.

<sup>20</sup> Dr. Josiah Hart came from the Bath section. His signature is one of those signed to the petition of Dissenters of Bath and Neuse rivers mentioned above, the name being followed by an abbreviation ending in "D." A Josiah Hart, probably the same, was clerk of the Court of Tyrrell County for the years 1744 and 1747. Grimes, *N. C. Wills*, 61, 367; and in 1739 his name appears as a witness of the will of William Hutson of Craven. *Ibid.*, 178

<sup>21</sup> Nottoway, Virginia.



*Rev. William Burgess*<sup>22</sup>

Born, Dec. 24, 1731, at Pasquotank. Ordained to the care of this church, May 2, 1772, by mes. Morgan Edwards, Thomas. Moore, and Meglamre. He married Sarah Scarboroug; after her, Penelope Bryant. His children are, Mary, Malachy, Elizabeth, Mourning, Bryant, Winifred, Dempsy, John, Sarah

TAR-RIVER-FALLS<sup>23</sup>

So [p. 7] distinguished from the part of the river near the meeting house, in Edg(e)comb county, 110 miles N W from Newburn, and about 510 SSW from Philadelphia. The church consists of two branches; one near said falls where is a place of worship, 30 feet by 20, built in 1764, on land given by Wm Horn; the other branch about 15 miles off, near the mouth of Swifts creek.<sup>24</sup> The families about 100, whereof 64 persons are baptized, which is here celebrated the 3d Sunday in Jan. Apr. Jul. Oct. No estate. No salary, but presents to the amount of about 20£. Ruling elders admitted, but no laying on of hands. This their present state. The society existed about the year 1744 but was then a daughter of Quehuky and on the arminian plan. Their minister (Mr Moore) first changed his opinions, by reading Fishers marrow of divinity, Buynian's law and grace, and conversing with the Slay maker, before mentioned. Then he proselyted some of the church, particularly Robert Sojourner and wife, Peter Herinton and wife, John Baker; these 5, with himself and wife; reformed to the pattern of the pensylvania churches, and considered it as a new constitution. The time was Dec. 3, 1757. The first minister is the present

*Rev. John Moore*<sup>25</sup>

He has one John Tanner<sup>26</sup> to his assistant. Mr Moore was born in Nansymond county in Virginia. Aug. 13, 1717. Bred a churchman.

<sup>22</sup> This William Burgess, as appears from the sketch of Rev. John Burges given below, was his son, and the grandson of the William Burgess who was the first pastor of the church here called Pasquotank, but now Shiloh, in Camden County. He died after a few years. *Kehukee Association* 239.

<sup>23</sup> Tar River Falls continues to this day, a church of the Primitive Baptist in the city of Rocky Mount. In its early years it had many distinguished men in its membership: Elisha Battle, a member of the Convention that formed the State Constitution of 1776 and also a member of Constitutional Convention of 1788 on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and often Senator for his county; Wm. Horn, colonel of the county, and likewise a member of the Halifax Convention; Elias Fort, ancestor of Joel Battle Fort; and many others. Battle, *Minutes of the Kehukee Association*.

<sup>24</sup> In 1777 the branch at the mouth of Swift Creek had become a Separate Baptist Church under the care of Elder John Tanner, and was one of the constituent churches of Burkitt's new association. *Kehukee Association*, 47.

<sup>25</sup> John Moore, probably the same who was a Justice of the Peace for Northampton, which extended west of the Roanoke until 1766, when by Act of Assembly that part of the county west of that river was added to Bute. *State Records*, XXII, 754f. At a meeting of the Kehukee Association with his church in 1775, the Association divided on the question of union with the Separates, Moore being the leader of the opposition to the union and Lemuel Burkitt one of the leaders in favor of it. By the year 1787 the two parties were united. Two of John Moore's sons mentioned in the text became Baptist preachers. These were John Moore, who labored most effectively in Johnston and the Swift Creek section of Wake County, and Lewis Moore, who until 1799 was pastor of churches in Warren. *Kehukee Association*, p. 97f.

<sup>26</sup> By reference to the list of churches in the Appendix it will be seen that Rev. John Tanner had charge of the branch of the church on Swift's Creek. After the split at the Falls of the Tar in 1775 Tanner and his church joined the Separate Baptists and as a church of that order helped from the new Association of Burkitt in 1677, his church being called that in Edgecombe. *Kehukee Association*, 47. After the close of the Revolutionary War we find him in Kentucky. Benedict, *History of Baptists*, II, 228. In June, 1777, he was shot and almost fatally wounded by a Mr Dawson who resented Tanner's baptizing his wife. *Kehukee Association*, 55f.



Baptized in 1746 by Rev. Wm Surgenor. Ordained by the same Sojourner & Josiah Hart, Oct. 30. 1748, at which time he took the oversight of the church. Sobriety dis[p. 8]tinguished Mr. Moor's character from his youth up. To which he assumed the form of religion, and then judged his condition safe. But happening to read a sermon of Sam. Smith entitled the *Great assize*, he began to discover the sin of his nature and to be in trouble. He laboured for peace for 15 years by works of righteousness, but got no rest till he understood and embraced the doctrines of grace. His wife's maiden name was Sarah Meredith, by whom he has children, John, Elizabeth, Kesiah, Bethsheba, Elisha, Lewis, Sarah

FISHING-CREEK<sup>27</sup>

A branch of Tar-river, near to which the meeting house stands, in Bute county, 150 miles NW from Newburn, and 580 SSW from Philadelphia. The church consists of 4 branches; one at said Fishing-creek where is a house, 52 feet by 28, built in 1771 on land given by Thomas Oneby; another at *Benefield's creek*, 28 miles off; a third at *Sandy-creek*, 17 miles off; the fourth at *Gile's-creek*, 25 miles off; *Benefield's-creek* is soon to be constituted into a church; a meeting house belongs to each branch. The families about 500 whereof 250 persons are baptized. No estate. The salary 40£. Ruling elders admitted, but not laying on of hands. The minister Rev. Wm Walker who has to his assistants Zachariah Thompson<sup>28</sup> and Wm Cook.<sup>29</sup> This their present state. They originated from Quehuky and were a general baptist society from the year 1745 to Dec. 6. 1755 when about 13 persons who had embraced the doctrines of Grace reformed to what they are now, called the *New constitution*. Their assistants were mess. Benj. Miller [p. 9] and P. P. Vanhorn. The names, Sam. Davis, Sam. Mangrum, James Petty and wife, Diana Ham, Wm. Walker, Edward Carerlisle and wife, Sarah Davis, Rich. Acock and wife, Martha Acock, and Rich. Bennet.<sup>30</sup> The most remarkable thing that may be said of this church is, That it is the daughter of Quehuky, and mother of Tar-river, Cosawhatchee,<sup>31</sup> etc. The first minister is the present

<sup>27</sup> This church, (Upper) Fishing Creek is the same as that called Reedy Creek by Burkitt and Read, *Kehukee Association*, 229ff. It still survives near its original site. Rev. Hugh McAden, a Presbyterian, preached here for several days at a Baptist Yearly Meeting in August, 1755. Foote, *Sketches*, 166. Of the branches mentioned I have been able to locate the site of only Sandy Creek, which is on a stream of that name, about twelve miles northeast of Louisburg, and which continues to this day.

<sup>28</sup> Zachariah Thompson became pastor of a church in Brunswick County, Virginia, about 1773, which church was one of those which joined to form the new Association of Burkitt in 1777.

<sup>29</sup> Wm. Cook went to the Dutchman's Creek section in what is now Davie County and established a church there in 1772. In 1775 he had Loyalist tendencies and signed what was known as "The Protest," a Tory document. For this, being called to account by the Rowan Safety Committee, he professed his sorrow "in the most explicit and humiliating terms." Wheeler, *History*, p. 366. On the same account he got in trouble with his churches, as is shown by the minutes of Dutchman's Creek Church, still in good condition and in the hands of Mr. J. T. Alderman of Henderson, N. C.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Bennet, Samuel Mangrum (Mangham), Richard Acock, Edward Cerlisle, and James Petty, were all in Captian Samuel Harris' company of militia in 1754. *State Records*, XXII, 374.

<sup>31</sup> Coosawhatchee was on a stream of that name, 100 miles southwest of Charleston, S. C. It was gathered by Rev. James Smart, who was baptized and ordained at Fishing Creek in 1750, but in about half a year became a Calvinist and joined the Particular Baptists of South Carolina. Edwards. *Materials for S. C.*



*Rev. William Walker*<sup>32</sup>

Born, Jan. 24, 1717, in Newkent county in Virginia. Bred a churchman. Became a baptist Aug. 9. 1746 at Quehuky. Ordained in 1748 by Josiah Hart. Embraced Calvinism in 1752. Took care of the church in 1755. Married Jaen Bays by whom he has children, Peter, Sarah, William, Mary, Martha, James, John, Joel, Lydia, Mercy, Hope. He is a man well thought of and very popular.

### LOWER-FISHING-CREEK<sup>33</sup>

So called from a creek that empties itself into Tar-river, near to which the place of worship is, in Halifax county, 120 miles NW from Newburn, and 520 SSW from Philadelphia. The church consists of 3 branches; one about *Lower-fishing creek* where is a house, 40 feet by 20, built in 1757, on land given by James Wyat; another on *Swifts-creek*, 8 miles off; the third in *Rocky-swamp*, 12 miles off, where is also a meeting house. No estate. Salary 50£. The families about 350, whereof 74 persons are baptized. Ruling elders, and devoting children admitted, but no laying on of [p. 10] hands. The minister, Rev. Charles Daniel, who has William Powel to his assistant. This their present state. They originated from Quehuky, and existed, a society of general baptists, since the year 1748, under the care of Mr Parker.<sup>34</sup> But the chief of them receiving the doctrines of Grace, they were, Oct. 13, 1756, reformed into a kind of new constitution by means of Rev. Thomas Pope. The names were, James Wyat, James Wyat jur. Nathaniel Powell, Mary Cullender, Francis Spivy, Sarah Spivy. No remarkable event since, except that it is a mother church, that of the *Meadows*,<sup>35</sup> near Roanoak, being its offspring. The minister is

*Rev. Charles Daniel*<sup>36</sup>

Born (Jan 1731) near Richmond in Virginia. Bred a churchman. Embraced the principles of the Baptists in 1749, and had the ordinance administered to him by Rev. Josiah Hart. Ordained Aug. 16, 1753 by said Hart and Henry Ledbetter; but changed his sentiments in 1755 (chiefly by means of reading Whitefield's sermons) and became a par-

<sup>32</sup> Rev. William Walker continued in the care of this church till his death in 1784. There is a sketch of his life and labors in *Kehukee Association*, 232ff.

<sup>33</sup> Lower Fishing Creek was called also Daniel's meeting house from the name of its first pastor. It still exists and is located about four miles west of Enfield, of its branches Swift Creek was probably near the site of Battleboro; the other branch, Rocky Swamp, about ten miles north of Enfield, also became a Separate Baptist church under the care of Rev. Jesse Read. It was a constituent member of the Association formed by Burkitt in 1777.

<sup>34</sup> Rev. Joseph Parker, one of the signers of the letter to Rev. John Comer from the church in Chowan founded by Paul Palmer in 1727. About 1730 he moved to Meherrin and preached there many years. Edwards' statement shows that he gathered the church at Fishing Creek as early as 1748. In 1761 he was south of the Tar at Little Contentney. With two other ministers he refused to give up his General Baptist principles when the other General Baptist ministers became Calvinists in 1755. Late in his life he was preaching at Wheat Swamp in Greene County and Pungo in Beaufort County. He died in 1791 or 1792. Wheeler, *Meherrin Church, North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, p. 41ff.

<sup>35</sup> Of the Meadows church I have found no further reference.

<sup>36</sup> A sketch of Rev. Charles Daniel may be found in *Kehukee Association*, 235f.



ticular baptist. Became minister of this church Nov. 15, 1756. Married Amy Clark, but has no issue. He is a wise and knowing man, and therefore often consulted in civil and law matters. He dropped preaching as soon as he began to suspect the orthodoxy of arminianism, and took it not up again till he had assurance of his being in a state of grace

PASQUOTANK<sup>37</sup>

Otherwise called Northmeeting from its situation, which is on the north side of [p. 11] Pasquotank river, in a county of the same name, 50 miles N. E. from Edentown, and miles SSW from Philadelphia. The house is 50 feet by 25, erected in 1757 chiefly at the charge of John Burges. No estate. No fixed salary. The pay of the minister is only in way of presents. The members are 192. families about 300. Ruling elders and laying on of hands admitted. Communion celebrated the 1st Sunday in March. June. December. September. Nor ordained minister. This their present state.—Their beginning was in this manner. About the year several persons in the neighborhood embraced the sentiments of the General baptists, and held their meeting in private houses till 1736 when they erected a small place, having Rev. William Burges<sup>38</sup> (who was then in the commission of the peace) to their minister. Their number then was about 30. Thus they went on to 1757 when the following persons embraced the particular scheme viz John Burges Esq. then pastor, and his son William his assistant, John Squire, Isaac Cartwright,<sup>39</sup> William Burges Jur. James Earl, Joel Brocket, Henry Hayman, Thos. Cartwright, Mary Burges, Margaret Farceluff and Sarah Squire. These 12 were Jan. 20, 1758 constituted in a church by means of Rev. mess. Thomas Pope and Charles Daniel—No very remarkable thing happened since, except that in 13 years they increased from 12 to 192, and that most of their brethren of the general persuasion have joined them. The first minis was

*Rev. John Burges*

He was a native of the place, and a man of character and fortune, and many years in the commission of the peace. He died Jul. 13. 1763, [p. 12] in the 38 year of his age; and was interred in the burying ground belonging to the society, which ground and meeting house were his own, but, by his request, has

<sup>37</sup> This is the oldest surviving Baptist church in the Province. Called by various names, Burgess' Meeting House, North Meeting, Camden (after 1812); and now Shiloh. Some account of it has been given in a note above.

<sup>38</sup> By reference to the Colonial Records, IV, 461, etc., it may be seen that William Burgess was also a member of the Provincial Assembly. Both before and after the "unarmed rebellion," he was a justice of the peace. *Colonial Records*, IV, 813; also court records in files of Historical Commission. Likewise his son, Rev. John Burgess was a justice of the peace, and so were several other Baptist ministers. It is probable that they desired this office in order that they might officiate at the marriages of their members. Dempsey Burgess, a son of the first William Burgess, held many important offices and was a colonel in the Continental forces during the Revolutionary War, *Colonial Records*, X, 532.

<sup>39</sup> Of the members mentioned Isaac Cartwright, Thomas Cartwright, and Henry Hayman were in the militia, Pasquotank County, in 1754. *State Records* XXII, 345ff, while Thomas Cartwright was also a Revolutionary soldier. *State Records*, XV, 728.



been properly conveyed to the society by his son Demsey. His funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Charles Daniel, to a crowded audience who expressed much grief at the loss of so bright and burning a light. He was ordained minister of this church at the constitution or reform. Jan. 20 1758. His wife was Margaret Bell by whom he had children, John, Demsey, William, Zephaniah. After his death the church was without a pastor for about 6 years. His successor was

*Rev. Henry Abbot*<sup>40</sup>

Born Oct. 28. 1737,  
at Westminster, in Middlesex county. Bred a churchman; Embraced the sentiments of the general baptist in 1758, and had the ordinance administered to him by Rev. Josph Parker in Jul. the same year. Ordained in Mar. 1767 by Mess. Charles Daniel and James Gamewell, sometimes after he had changed his sentiments; and Sep. 3. 1769 became minister of this church, Rev. John Meglamre assisting. He died Feb. 1772. leaving no issue.

#### TOSNEOT<sup>41</sup> [p. 13]

So distinguished from a creek in Edgcombe county (near to which the meeting house stands) emptying itself into Contantony and that into Neuse river. The house is 28 feet by 16, distant 80 miles N from Newburn and SSW from Philadelphia. It was erected in on land given by Rev. John Thomas.<sup>42</sup> No estate. The minister is rewarded in a way of presents. Ruling elders and laying on of hands

<sup>40</sup> Mr. Edwards' sketch of Abbot is defective and erroneous. He was the son of Rev. John Abbot, Canon of St. Paul's, London. "He left England, while young, without the consent or knowledge of his parents, and came over to America. He had a tolerable education and was chiefly employed in keeping school until converted, and called to the ministry." *Kehukee Association*, 107ff. He was a member of the Provincial Congress that met at Halifax in April and November, 1776, and was a member of the Committee which drafted the Constitution. "To him we owe our thanks, in measure, for the security of some of our religious rights." *Ibid.* It was said that he was the author of Article XIX of the Bill of Rights, on Religious Liberty and it is probable that Article XXXIV of the Constitution itself forbidding and Establishment owed much to him. Weeks, *Church and State in North Carolina*, p. 58, accepts the statement of Burkitt as true. He was also the author of the Resolution passed in the closing days of the Congress to authorize ministers of all denominations to perform the marriage ceremony. *Colonial Records*, X, 990. He was a member of both the 1788 and the 1789 Conventions on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, voting with the minority in the Convention of 1788. Elliott's *Debates*, IV, 191f. (four-vol. ed.) He died in May, 1791.

<sup>41</sup> Tosenot. The present spelling is Toisnot. "Tosneot is an Indian name spelt in various ways; Toesnot, Toisnot. There is a swamp of that name and a creek running from it. The village on the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad called Elm City was once known as Toisnot." Battle, *Minutes of the Kehukee Association*, note 3.

<sup>42</sup> Turner and Bridgers, *History of Edgcombe County*, p. 52, give the name of the donor as S. Thomas, not J. Thomas, probably by error. But their statement is interesting since it was taken from a court record which gives evidence of the strife engendered when the reforming Particular Baptists dispossessed the much more numerous General Baptists of their church connection and property. It reads: "The Inferior Court furthermore made provision for religious worship. The first reference concerning religious matters was made in the form of a petition in 1759 by John Thomas and others of the profession of Ana-Baptist. It seems that a Society of Baptists had constructed a meeting house, and a division in the society had occasioned a dispute over the legal owners; consequently John Thomas the leader of the Ana-Baptist element, petitioned for a claim to the meeting house which had been constructed under his supervision. The church had been constructed on Mr. S. Thomas' land, near Jonathan Thomas', according to a grant issued by the Parliament of Great Britain. Mr. Thomas was one of the active leaders of the dissenting element and had forcefully closed the doors of the church to the services of the Baptist Society. There is no record of the court's disposition of the matter, and so far as known it was never decided or its legal owners identified."

It is certain, however, that the Particular Baptists, represented by John Thomas, retained possession of the premises. This church was a few years later a member of the Kehukee Association and its pastor was John Thomas.



admit[p. 14]ted. Families about 75, whereof 100 are baptized and in the communion, celebrated here the 4th Sunday in Feb. May. Aug. Nov. The minister, Rev. John Thomas—This their present state—They originated from the general baptists. The names of them who first declared for the particular scheme are Rev. John Thomas & wife, Moses Baker & wife, Jonathan Weaver & wife, John Thomas jur and wife, John Barnes and wife, Jonathan Thomas and wife, Sarah Hickman, Obedience Thomas; the 14 were constituted on the particular plan Sep. 7. 1758. The first minister is the present

*Rev. John Thomas*<sup>43</sup>

A native of Virginia: Bred a churchman. Embraced the sentiments of the Baptists in 1748 & had the ordinance administered to him by Rev Josiah Hart. Ordained by Rev. mess. George Graham & John More, at which time he took on him the care of the chh. His wife is Christiana Roberts by whom he has children, John, Jonathan, Obedience, Theophilus, Milicent, Teresa; married into the William Hilliard, Rogers, and Hill families and have raised 22 grand children.

#### TAR-RIVER<sup>44</sup>

So called from the river which runs near the meeting house, in Granville county, 165 miles NW from Newburn, and 450, SSW from Philadelphia. The church consists of two branches; one near said river, where is a place of worship, 32 feet by 20, built in 1765, on land given by James Meadows;<sup>45</sup> [p. 15] the other at Flat-river<sup>46</sup> where a meeting is kept in a school-house. No estate. No salary, except presents to the amount of about 20£. No elders. No laying on of hands. The families about 56 whereof 42 persons are baptized and in communion which is

<sup>43</sup> There were two Baptist preachers of the name of John Thomas, father and son, and also a second son named Jonathan, who was by far the ablest of the three. Probably the father is here meant. A John Thomas, probably the father, was appointed a justice of the peace for Edgecombe, October 11, 1749, *Colonial Records*, IV, 976; and later to the same office by Ordinance of Convention of 1776. *State Records*, XXIII, 993. In May, 1771 the County Court of Edgecombe licensed Rev. Jonathan Thomas to preach, upon his taking the oath of allegiance and subscribing to the test. He was recommended by George Graham and John Moore. The authors of the *History of Edgecombe County*, 43, state that he was the first non-conformist preacher ever so legalized in Eastern North Carolina. But this is a mistake. We have seen that Palmer was so licensed in 1738.

<sup>44</sup> I have not been able to ascertain the exact location of the Tar River Church, but the names of the members as given and the data given in the text indicate that it was not far from the present town of Tar River in Granville County. In the *History of the Kehukee Association*, 47, it is called the Church in Granville County. The minutes of the Flat River Association show that as late as 1836 Tar River was a member of that body. After that date its name is no longer found in the minutes, its members having probably gone to another church. This seems to be the place where Rev. High McAden often preached in 1755 and 1756. He calls it sometimes Tar River and again "Old Sherman's." It will be observed that the name of one of the members of the church is given as Sherman.

<sup>45</sup> Meadows is a common Granville County name. James Meadows, probably because he had been a Regulator, was required to take the oath of allegiance in 1778. *State Records*, XXII, 168. In 1754 he and Thomas Goss, named in the text, were in the militia in Captain Andrew Hampton's company. *Ibid.*, 379. Three other constituent members of this church, Solomon Langston, Absalom Langston, and James Langston were in Captain Daniel Harris' company, *Ibid.*, 374. Wm. Forest was a pensioner, *Ibid.*, 65, having served as a Revolutionary Soldier in Captain Temple's company, *State Records*, XIV, 740. He was a member of the grandjury at the Hillsborough court of September, 1768, in which Edmund Fanning and Herman Husband were tried. Probably all the references are to the Wm. Forest named in the text.

<sup>46</sup> Flat River probably never became an independent church. It was probably in what is now the northeastern part of Durham County.



here administered the 4th Lords day in Jan. Apr. Jul. Oct. The minister, Rev. Henry Ledbetter. This their present state. They had their beginning about the year 1749 but then were arminians. In process of time they embraced the doctrines of grace, and were re-constituted. Apr. 3. 1761, by Mr Walker of Fishing-creek from whose church they originated. The constituents were Henry Ledbetter and wife, John Shearman and wife, Thomas Goss and wife, Rich. Gibbs and wife, Edward Vesey and wife, James Langston, Absolom Langston, Solomon Langston, Jeremiah Lewis and wife, Benj. Hubbard, Wm Forrest, Mary Shoemaker, Lucy Thompson, Eliz. Span. No very remarkable event since. The first minister was

*Rev. William Washington*

He was a native of Virginia. Bred a churchman. Embraced the sentiments of the baptists about 1745 and had the ordinance administered to him by Rev. Rich. Jones of Burley.<sup>47</sup> Ordained about 1746, and becoming a particular baptist took the care of the church in 1761; but resigned the same year in favour of Mr Ledbetter. His wife was Tabitha Reeves by whom he had children. He was prosecuted for talking against the church of England while in Virginia; and upon his removal to North-carolina, the prosecution was renewed at Enfield, which cost him upwards of 40£.<sup>48</sup> His successor is the present, Rev.

*Rev. [p. 16] Henry Ledbetter<sup>49</sup>*

Of him we have treated under *Linches-creek* in South-carolina. He became a particular baptist by means of Rev. Stephen Hollinsworth.

RED-BANKS<sup>50</sup>

In Pitt-county near Tar river.

From Newburn      miles. The families about 100 whereof 82 persons are baptized and in communion. It was constituted Nov. 20 1758 by Thos. Pope and Joseph Willis. The minister is

<sup>47</sup> Rev. Richard Jones, on April 30, 1727, succeeded Rev. Robert Nordin, its first pastor, in the care of the General Baptist church at Burley, Virginia. Semple, *Virginia Baptists*, 344.

<sup>48</sup> Mr. Washington seems to have left Virginia to escape prosecution there. His offense, according to Edwards' account in his notebook, was saying that "Churchmen are fools." In what court Washington was tried is not clear, but possibly in the Parish Court, which up to 1746 exercised most of the functions later belonging to the County Court. *History of Edgecombe County*, 54f.

<sup>49</sup> Rev. Henry Ledbetter was prominent in early Baptist affairs in the Carolinas. He came to North Carolina from Prince George County, Va., where he was born in 1721. He became a member of the Upper Fishing Creek church in 1748, and was ordained in 1750. In a few months he became a convert to Calvinism and going to South Carolina became pastor of the church at Lynch's Creek. He returned to North Carolina in 1761 and was here the remainder of his life. Morgan Edwards, *Materials for S. C.* His church was a constituent member of the new Association organized by Burkitt in 1777.

<sup>50</sup> Mr Edwards does not mention the fact that Red Banks was first a congregation of General Baptists, and that the constitution he mentions was that of the Particular Baptist order. At this place, on April 7, 1756, Rev. Hugh McAden "preached to a pretty large company of various sorts of people, but fewer Presbyterians." Foote. *Sketches*, 173. This church was one of the constituent members of the Kehukee Association in 1769.



*Rev. Jeremiah Rhame*<sup>51</sup>

Bred a churchman. Embraced the sentiments of the Baptists in 1755 but in the general scheme in 1758, and prosylited many to his way of thinking who with him were formed into a church the time before mentioned. He married Eliz. Bradley by whom he has children Abigail, Jeremiah, Ebenezer, Bradley, Benoni.

GRE[p. 17]AT-COHARA<sup>52</sup>

So called from a creek (emptying itself into Capefear) near to which the meetinghouse stands, in Duplin county, 60 miles W from Newburn. The families about 20 whereof 8 persons are baptized and in com. The minister, Rev. Edward Brown—They began by means of the same minister's preaching in 1749, and when a considerable number was baptized sent for Rev. mess. Thos. Pope, Jonathan Thomas and Stephen Hollingsworth to form them into a chh which was effected Octob. 15 1759. The constituents were 12. They increased exceedingly till the troubles of the Regulation compelled them to quit the province except the 8 persons before mentioned.<sup>53</sup> Their first minister is

*Rev. Edward Brown*<sup>54</sup>

He was bred a churchman. Became a baptist, on the general plan, in 1749. Had the ordinance administered to him by [p. 18] Rev. Wm. Sojourner and ordained the same year (1749) to the work of the ministry. Sometime before 1759 he changed his sentiments and became a particular Baptist. His wife Prudence Sherrod by whom he has 5 children; one married into the Stephens family.

THREE CREEKS<sup>55</sup>

[p. 19]

<sup>51</sup> Mr. Edwards' sketch of Jeremiah Rhame is imperfect and somewhat erroneous. Furman's *History of the Charleston Association* shows that in 1755 Rhame was pastor of Catfish, a Particular Baptist church, near Latta, S. C., which that year joined the Association. He moved back to South Carolina about 1771 or 1772. *Kehukee Association*, 295. Here he continued to labor until extreme old age, being one of "three zealous and much approved preachers of the gospel" who died in 1805. Benedict. *History of Baptist*, II, 147.

<sup>52</sup> Great Cohara, the church now called Rowan, near Clinton, Sampson County. It joined the Charleston Association the year of its organization as a Particular Baptist church. Furman's *History*.

<sup>53</sup> This is contemporary testimony of how the Regulator troubles affected every part of the Province.

<sup>54</sup> Rev. Edward Brown is doubtless the same as he who is mentioned as the Assistant of Sojourner at Kehukee, 1743-49. He was in the Province as early as 1739 and was a freeholder of Edgecombe County. *Colonial Records*, IV, 349, 761.

<sup>55</sup> Three Creeks, Swift, Middle, Black in Johnston and Wake. Edwards has no information of churches south of New Bern except of Great Cohara, which he probably received at Kehukee, the home church of the pastor of the Great Cohara church. It seems that he did not visit this section of the Province. When he was making his book he left blank pages against the names of these churches hoping to fill them in later.

Three Creeks, we learn from Furman's *Charleston Association*, became a member of that body in 1758, and was "organized by Tully." Perhaps Rev. Thomas Tully, who in 1755 was preaching in Bute, is meant. *Kehukee Association*, 230. A man of this name, on September 25, 1741, received a grant for 300 acres of land in Edgecombe. *Colonial Records*, IV, 602. Nothing more is known of him. In 1777 Three Creeks appears on the list of churches in the minutes of the Kehukee Association, with John Moore as pastor. A delegate from the church this year was Hardy Sanders, a man prominent in the annals of both Wake and Johnston counties.



BLADEN-COUNTY<sup>56</sup>

[p. 20]

BEAR-CREEK<sup>57</sup>

So named from a creek emptying into the Neuse, near to ch the meeting house stands, in Dobbs county, 60 miles WNW from Newburn. The house is 20 feet by 15, built in on land given by Joshua Herring. No estate. Ruling elders and laying on of hands allowed. The families about 40 whereof 30 are baptized and in communion, celebrated 1st Sunday in Jan. Apr. Jul. October. This church originated by a transformation of general Baptists into particular chiefly by means of Rev. mess. Miller & Vanhorn in 1757 No. 15. The first minister is

*Rev. George Graham*<sup>58</sup>

Arr[p. 21]ived in America in his youth. Embraced Believer's baptism in the year 1750. Changed the general for prt scheme about 1756. He is yet alive but past his labour. His successor is

*Rev. Joshua Herring*<sup>59</sup>

A native of N. Carolina. Bred a chh man. Embraced Believers bap. in 1756. Ordained in 1767 by Mess George Graham and Jonath. Thomas. He married Elizabeth Matchet by whom he has children. Mary, Matchet, Elizabeth.

<sup>56</sup> The church in Bladen County is thought to be the same as that afterwards called Beaver Dam, near the boundary of Cumberland and Bladen. We learn from Furman's History that it joined the Charleston Association in 1758, and was organized by Stephen Hollingsworth in January, 1756. The church, which probably included several congregations in the territory of the present counties of Bladen Cumberland and Robeson, owed its origin to the extension of the influence of the Welsh Neck Baptists on the Pee Dee into North Carolina.

Stephen Hollingsworth is probably to be identified with a man of that name, who was one of the earliest settlers of Bladen, and who on September 9, 1735, was granted 640 acres of land in that county. *Colonial Records*, IV, 56, 58. Later he proved six headrights in New Hanover and obtained a further grant of 600 acres in that county. *Ibid.*, IV, 763, 804. He had no little part in winning the General Baptist preachers of North Carolina to Calvinism. In 1751 he won Rev. Henry Ledbetter, who had been ordained at (Upper) Fishing Creek in Bute County the year before. He assisted in the re-constitution of the Great Cohara church on the Particular Baptist order. He is heard of no more after that year, and probably died about that time.

<sup>57</sup> This Bear Creek is in the present county of Lenoir. The church continued for many years but is now extinct. The date mentioned for its constitution, Nov. 15, 1757, is erroneous. It was probably organized a year earlier, since Miller and Vanhorn seem to have left the Province about the end of 1756, and were certainly back in Philadelphia and in attendance on the meeting of the Association on October 4, 1757, at which meeting Miller was given a new mission to New York. *Philadelphia Baptist Association*, 75.

<sup>58</sup> Rev. George Graham's name often appears in Edwards' records. It was also found on the petition for registration of place of worship presented to Chief Justice Montgomery in 1742. If he was at that time a Baptist, Edwards' date of 1750 for his conversion to believer's baptism is wrong. With reference to him we find the following in the legislative journals, April 21, 1762: "Mr. Caswell presented a Certificate from the County Court of Dobbs recommending George Graham to be exempt from paying Public Taxes, and doing public duties. Granted." *Colonial Records*, VI, 819. There is some evidence that this immunity from taxes and public duties was extended to some other Baptist ministers in colonial days. Every minister of the Establishment had such immunity.

<sup>59</sup> Rev. Joshua Herring was appointed a justice of the peace of Johnston County, Oct. 16, 1749, before Dobbs had been erected from its territory. *Colonial Records*, IV, 969. In 1776 he was appointed to the same office for Dobbs County by the Constitutional Convention. *State Records*, XXIII, 993. He continued with the church at Bear Swamp for many years but late in life moved to New Hanover and became pastor of churches in that County and Bladen. Asplund's *Baptist Register*, for 1790. Rev. Hugh McAden spent the night of March 30, 1756 in his house and was detained until Herring assembled a congregation to hear him. Foote, *Sketches*, 174.



SWIFTS-CREEK<sup>60</sup>

So called from a branch (near to which the meeting house stands) which empties into the Neuse, in Craven county, 12 miles NbW from Newburn, and SSW from Philadelphia. The families about 150 whereof 72 persons are baptized and in communion—This their present state—They originated by means Rev. William Burges of Pasquotank<sup>61</sup> who in preached in the parts and baptized many in the general scheme; but in 1756 were visited by Rev. mess Benj. Miller and F. P. van Horn who prosylited the following persons and formed them into a church Feb. 27 the same year. Their names were Joseph Willi, George Fisher,<sup>62</sup> Abraham Warrin,<sup>63</sup> James Willis, Samuel Willis, James Perdieu, Jacob Miller, Elizabeth Willis, Ann Miller, [p. 24] Mary Willis, Elizabeth Wane, Mary Fisher, Susanna Willis, Mary Warren, Mary Miller— The the first minister is the present

*Rev. Joseph Willis<sup>64</sup>*

Mess. George Graham & William Fulsher  
became minister of this church. His wife is Eliz. Simmons by whom he has children Mary, Joseph, Thomas, Caleb, Richard, Jesse and Ephraim.

He was ordained by  
and at the same time

## PART II

## TREATS OF THE SEPARATE BAPTISTS IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Of these we have said something in our III vol. part 2d, p. 52, to which we refer the reader. Besides *Separatists*, they are sometimes called *Newlights*, because, in their manner, they resemble th[p. 23]ose devout people to the northward who, in 1740, acquired the names of *Separatists* and *Newlights*: the ministers resemble those in tones of voice and actions of body; and the people in *crying-out* under the ministry, *falling-down* as in fits, and *awaking* in extacies; and both ministers and people resemble those in regarding impulses, visions, and revelations. But it must be observed yt. these things are not true of all the separate Baptists; there are some exceptions: neither do all regard the nine *Christian-rites*, but only baptism, the Lords supper, and imposition of hands. Of the separate baptists there are 9 churches in North-carolina. We begin with the mother of them all, viz

<sup>60</sup> The church at Swift Creek long survived, being in existence in 1811, under the care of David Whitford. Benedict, *History of Baptists*, II, 525.

<sup>61</sup> This statement indicates the early proselyting activity of the Pasquotank (Shiloh) ministers. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Edwards had not ascertained the date of Burges's labors here. It will be observed that the names of the members indicate that several, Fisher and Miller, were of German origin, while that of Perdieu suggest a Huguenot family.

<sup>62</sup> George Fisher was on the grand jury that failed to find a true bill against Herman Husband in 1771. *State Records*, VII, 231.

<sup>63</sup> Abraham Warren, Samuel Willis, James Perdieu, and Jacob Miller, were all freeholders of Craven County. See references in index to *Colonial Records*. Jacob Miller was a Palatine, *Colonial Records*, IV, 954-56. One of his name was an Indian Ranger in the Tuscarora War, *Ibid.*, II, 275; a juror to the General Court at Edenton in 1724, *Ibid.*, 275; a justice of the peace in 1731, *Ibid.*, III, 244.

<sup>64</sup> Rev. Joseph Willis continued for many years pastor of this church. In 1776 it joined the Kehukee Association (Minutes).



## SANDY-CREEK

So called from a little creek near to which the meeting house stands, in the forks of Capefear-river (which forks are *Deep-river* and *Haw-river*) in the county of Guilford, 250 miles NW from Newburn, and about 560 SSW from Philadelphia. The place of worship is 30 feet by 26, built in 1762, on land given by Seamore York.<sup>65</sup> No estate. No salary, except presents, to the amount of about 20£. Here ruling elders, eldresses, and deaconesses are allowed; also the 9 christian rites: *baptism; Lords-supper; love-feast; laying-on-of-hands; washing-feet; anointing-the sick; right-hand of fellowship; kiss of charity; devoting children*. The families about 40, whereof 14 person are baptized and in communion, administered here every Lords-day except they failed to get wine. No ordained minister, but have two exhorters viz Tiden Lane<sup>66</sup> and James Billingsley.<sup>67</sup> This their present state. They had their beginning, Nov. 22 1755, when t[24]he following persons arrived to the place. viz Shubal Stearns and wife, Peter Stearns and wife, Ebenezer Stearns and wife. Shubal Stearns jur. and wife, Daniel Marshall, and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Enis Stimson<sup>68</sup> and wife, Jonathan Polk and wife.<sup>69</sup> The Stearns travelled hither from Boston, and in their way (at Millcreek in Virginia) Marshall and Breed joined them; these last were baptized at Millcreek by Rev. Sam. Heaton; but Stearns and his company at Winsor in Connecticut. As soon as they arrived to Sandy creek they built a little meeting house on the spot where the present stands. Very remarkable things may be said of this church, worthy a place in Gillis's book<sup>70</sup> and inferior to no instance he gives of the modern success of the gospel in different parts of the world (1) It began with 16 souls; and in a short-time increased to 606, spreading its branches to *Deep-river*<sup>71</sup> and *Abbots-creek*,<sup>72</sup> which branches are gone to other

<sup>65</sup> Haywood, M. DeL., *Governor Tryon of North Carolina*, p. 179, by implication classes Seymore York as a Regulator. There is no proof that he was so, and the contrary is suggested by his name being on petition in behalf of outlawed Regulators. *Colonial Records*, IX, 26f., 29f. But in 1776 he was a Loyalist and on the order of Governor Martin he gathered a company of thirty-four men with which he joined General McDonald and was captured at Moore's Creek in February of that year. He was probably paroled upon petition of his wife. After that we hear no more of him. *Ibid.*, X, 441, 598, 841.

<sup>66</sup> Tidence Lane was from the Yadkin country. In addition to what is said in the text, it may be said that Lane with several other members of the Sandy Creek Church, about 1780, organized in a church capacity and removed to the Watagua section of Tennessee, whither many of their brethren had already gone, and settled on Boon Creek. Benedict, *History of Baptists*, II, 214f. See also sketch of his grandson, Rev. T. J. Lane, in Borum, *Tennessee Baptist Ministers*, 433ff.

<sup>67</sup> James Billingley was one of the Regulators who in August, 1768, signed an address to Governor Tryon, agreeing to submit all grievances to the courts of Law. *Colonial Records*, VII, 812f.

<sup>68</sup> The name is correctly given as Stinson in Edwards' notebook. The family name survives in that section until this day.

<sup>69</sup> At least nine of the constituent members of the Sandy Creek church afterwards went to South Carolina. These were Daniel Marshall and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Peter Stearns and wife, Enos Stinson and wife, and Ebenezer Stearns. *Materials for S. C.*

<sup>70</sup> The reference is to Dr. John Gillies' *Life of Whitefield*, London, 1772.

<sup>71</sup> The exact site of this church is not now known, but it was probably near where the road from the north to Campbellton crossed Deep River. This church did not continue longer than 1760 as an independent body, though it was afterwards a branch of the Haw River Church. In 1760 its pastor with a large contingent of the church went first to Broad River, and later to Fair Forest, South Carolina, keeping up their church organization. About the same time, Rev. Joseph Murphy was ordained, as will be told in the text, pastor of another independent church, and with it traveled and rested on Little River in Anson (now Montgomery) County.

<sup>72</sup> Abbot's Creek church, organized about 1756 with Daniel Marshall as pastor, migrated to South Carolina in 1761 and settled first at Beaver Creek, a tributary of Broad River, and after two years went on to Stephen's Creek, otherwise called Horse Creek, S. C., near Augusta. Later the remnants of the Abbot's Creek church were gathered and reconstituted as a church which survives to this day.



provinces; and most of the members of this church have followed them, in so much that in 17 years it is reduced from 606 to 14 souls, and is in danger of becoming extinct. The cause of this dispersion was the abuse of power which too much prevailed in the province and caused the inhabitants at last to rise up in arms, and fight for their privileges; but being routed (May 16, 1771) they despaired of seeing better times, and therefore quitted the province. It is said that 1500 families departed since the battle of Alamance; and, to my knowledge, great many more are only waiting to dispose of their plantations in order to follow them. This is to me an argument that their grievances were real, and their oppression great notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary. They who would be informed of the matter may read the address of Granville, dated, *Nutbush* [p. 25] June. 6. 1765, and published in the *Granville Newspapers*.<sup>73</sup> Also the reasons of Brunswick and Cumberland for not paying taxes dated May. 16. 1766.<sup>74</sup> Also the memorials and addresses Of Orange county, published in a book entitled an *Impartial Relation of the first rise and cause of the recent differences in public affairs in the province of N. Carolina*,<sup>75</sup> supposed to have been written by Hermon Husband. Some of the complaints are. "yt they had in a way of tax paid between 20 and 3000 £ more than would sink their paper money, and yet about 60000 of it still remained unsunk p. 30; that Civil officers and lawyers extorted more than the law allowed them—and yet were not punished, but suffered to prosecute the complainers. Col. Edmond Fanning being convicted of this at Hillsborough Sep. 22. 1768 was fined only one penny which the plaintiffs considered as a mock put upon them—that sheriff John Wood had taken more money than he and his lawyers could account for yet was not punished (p 60)—that the lawyers instead of 15/ took 30 s. and thence to 3, 4 and 5 £. and some to as many hundreds (p 6), and that neither the governors proclamations, nor prosecutions in civil courts remedied or abated the oppressions." But to return (2) Sandy-creek chh is the mother of all the Separate-baptists. From this Zion went forth the word, and great was the company of them who published it: it, in 17 years, has spread branches westward as far as the great river Mississippi;<sup>76</sup> southward as far as Georgia; eastward to the sea and Chesopeck bay; and northward to the waters of Potowmack: it, in 17 years, is become mother, grand-mother, and great Grandmother to 42 churches, from which sprang 125 ministers, many of which are ordained and support the sacred character as well as any sett of clergy in Amer[p. 26]ica; and if some have turned out bad, where is there a sett of clergy that can throw the first stone, and say, "We all are good"? As for the outcries, epilepsies and

<sup>73</sup> This is the only reference I have seen to the "Granville Newspapers." What were they? Who published them? Who printed them?

<sup>74</sup> I have not been able to find further reference to the document containing "the reasons of Brunswick and Cumberland for not paying taxes."

<sup>75</sup> This has been made generally available in a publication of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Boyd, W. K. (ed.) *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*.

<sup>76</sup> In his notebook Edwards says "towards" the Mississippi.



extacies attending their ministry they are not peculiar to them; the Newengland presbyterians had them long before; and in Virginia, it is well known that the same effects attend the ministry of some clergymen of the church of England, particularly Rev. mes. Devreaux Garret and Archibald McRoberts. The enchantments of sounds, attended with corresponding actions, have produced greater effects than these; though I believe a preternatural and invisible hand works in the assemblies of the Separte-baptists bearing down the human mind, as was the case in primitive churches 1 Cor. XIV. 25. The first minister was

*Rev. Shubal Stearns*

He had mes. Joseph Breed<sup>77</sup> and Daniel Marshall<sup>78</sup> to his assistants, till they removed, the one to South-carolina, the other to Abbots-creek. Mr. Stearns was born in Boston; Jan. 28. 1706. Bred a presbyterian. Embraced the principles of the Baptists, in 1751, at Toland in Connecticut, and had the ordinances administered to him by Rev. Wait Palmer, the then minister of Stoneington. Ordained, Mar. 20 1751, by said Palmer and Rev. Joshua Mors, the then minister of Newlondon. Soon after he and his company made towards *Sandy-creek*, tarrying a while at Opekon in Virginia. He died, Nov. 20, 1771, and is interred near his meeting house, where, I expect, a monument will be raised to his memory.<sup>79</sup> He married Sarah Johnston but left no issue. Mr. Stearns was but a little man, but [27] a man of good natural parts and sound judgment. Of learning he had but a small share, yet was pretty well acquainted with books. His voice was musical and strong, which he managed in such a manner as, one while, to make soft impressions on the heart, and fetch tears from the eyes in a mechanical way; and anon, to shake the very nerves and throw the animal system into tumults and purturbations. All the Separate ministers copy after him in tones of voice and actions of body; and some few exceed him. His character was indisputably good, both as a man, a christian and a preacher. In his eyes was something very penetrating, seemed to have a meaning in every glance, of which I will give one example; and the rather because it was given me by a man of good sense, I mean Tiden Lane. "When the fame of Mr. Stearn's preaching (said he) had reached the Atkin, where I lived, I felt a curiosity to go and hear him. Upon my arrival I saw a venerable old man sitting under a peach-tree with a book in his hand and the people gathering about him. He fixed his eyes upon me immedi-

<sup>77</sup> Of Joseph Breed little more is known. In 1758 he had charge of the congregation on Little River, and represented them in the meeting of the Sandy Creek Association. Semple, *Virginia Baptists*, 43. About 1762 he moved to South Carolina. Edwards, *Materials for S. C.* It seems that he was never ordained.

<sup>78</sup> Daniel Marshall was the most indefatigable and successful of Stearns' assistants in gaining proselytes to the Separate Baptists, preaching not only in many parts of North Carolina, but also in Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia. He was born in Connecticut in 1706; was bred a Presbyterian; but becoming a proselyte of Whitefield, and sharing the zeal of the great evangelist, left a comfortable home, and with his wife and three small children, became a missionary to the Indians. Driven in by the hostilities of the French and Indian War, in 1754, he came to Opekon (Winchester), Va. and there became a Baptist, and the next year, 1755, came to Sandy Creek with Stearns.

<sup>79</sup> A modest monument now marks the grave of Stearns.



ately, which made me feel in such a manner as I never had felt before. I turned to quit the place but could not proceed far. I walked about, sometimes catching his eyes as I walked. My uneasiness increased and became intolerable. I went up to him, thinking yet a salutation and shaking hands would relieve me: but it happened otherwise. I began to think that he had an evil eye and ought to be shunned; but shunning him I could no more effect than a bird can shun the Rattle snake when it fixes his eyes upon it. When he began to preach [28] my perturbations increased so that nature could no longer support them and I sunk to the ground." Others have told like stories of impressions which his presence made upon them for which they could not account. A little before his death the old man saw this uncommon phenomenon; the time was Sep. 7, 1769 memorable for a great storm. As he was ascending a hill in his way home he observed in the horizon a white heap like snow; upon his drawing near he perceived the heap to stand suspended in the air 15 or 20 feet above ground. Presently it fell to the ground and divided itself into three parts; the greatest part moved northward; a less towards the south; and the third, which was less than either but much brighter, remained on the spot where the whole fell; as his eyes followed that which went northward, it vanished; he turned to look at the other, and found they also had disappeared. While the old man pondered what the phantom the division, and motions of it meant this thought struck him "The bright heap is our religious interest; which will divide and spread north and south, but chiefly northward; while a small part remains at sandy-creek." Time has proved this interpretation to be just; for in Virginia (which is to the north of Sandy-creek) the interest prevails more than in the Carolinas and Georgia.

#### LITTLE-RIVER<sup>80</sup>

A branch of Pedee, near to which the meeting house stands in Anson county, 270 miles SW from Newburn, and about 570 SSW from Philadelphia. The church consists of four [29] branches, one near *Little-river*, where is a house, 30 feet by 20 built in 1768, another, on land given by Thomas Ward; another branch at *Rocky-river*; another by *Jone's-creek*; and the fourth by *Mountain-run*,<sup>81</sup> in each of which places is a meeting house. No estate. No salary, except presents amounting to about 30 £. Ruling elders, laying on of hands &c admitted, but somewhat divided about washing feet &c. The families about 60, whereof 48 persons are baptized. No ordained ministers; exhorters, John Bullin and Edmund Lilly. This their present state. They originated from

<sup>80</sup> Little River of Pee Dee flows south, and is in the present county of Montgomery. The church was near the mouth of the river and was later called the Fork of Little River. Purefoy. *Sandy Creek Association*, 77. Semple states that this church was represented by Joseph Breed, a brother, at a meeting of the Sandy Creek Association in its first year, which was 1758. *Virginia Baptists*, 43. At that time it was a branch of the Sandy Creek church, and became independent with the coming of Murphy, an ordained minister.

<sup>81</sup> The branches of the church were on the streams named. That of Rocky River became an independent church in 1790, joining the Charleston Association that year (Minutes), and later joining the Sandy Creek Association. Rev. E. M. Brooks has recently published its history.



*Deepriver-church* (now extinct) as that did from the church of *Sandy-creek*. The manner was this. A few persons had taken lands near said *Little-river* and were about removing thither from *Deepriver*; they desired to be formed into a church first. The time was Sep. 9 1760; the constituents, Rich. Curtis, Joseph Morphy and wife, John Lee and wife, Wm Seary and wife, Susanna Carr. Remarkable since are (1) This church in 3 years increased from 5 souls to 500, and builded 5 meeting houses; but are now reduced to a handful, owing chiefly to the fruitless issue of the regulation at Alamance, which made most of them quit the province.<sup>82</sup> (2) The major part of this church was for the 9 christian rites, but did not practice them in expectation of universal consent. The first minister was

*Rev. Joseph Morphy*<sup>83</sup>

He was born, Apr. 1, 1734, in Spotsylvania.<sup>84</sup> Bred a churchman. Embraced the principles of the Baptists in 1757, and had the ordinance administered to him by Rev. Shubal Stearns. Or[30]dained in 1760, at which time he took care of this church; but resigned in 1768 in order to go to the Atkin where he now resides. Mr. Morphy is no schollar, but very popular. Since his conversion his life and conversation has been without blame; but before he was a man wicked to a proverb. He suffered by the regulation tho' he had no hand in it; for a detachment of dragoons entered his house, stole his papers, and a new pair of stockings which were the most valuable things, they saw in his little cot. His wife was a Haley, by whom he has children. Sarah, Ferraby, Eleanor, Susanna, Elizabeth.

#### SHALLOW-FORDS<sup>85</sup>

So called from the fords of the *Atkin-river*, near to which the meeting house stands, in the county of Surrey, 300 miles W of Newburn, and 660 SSW from Philadelphia. The church consists of 3 branches; one near the Fords where is a meeting house, 30 feet by 26, built in 1769; another branch in the forks of the Atkin,<sup>86</sup> the third in [31] the *Mulberry-fields* in each of which places is also a meeting-house. Ruling elders and deaconesses admitted, and 6 of the 9 christian rites. No

<sup>82</sup> Edwards' *Materials* for South Carolina indicate that many who left the Province from this section because of the "fruitless issue of the regulation at Alamance" went to that Province, Probably others went to Tennessee. The name of John Lee, possibly the man of that name given here, was in Tennessee in 1787.

<sup>83</sup> Joseph Morphy, usually spelled Murphy. He was still living in the Yadkin section, pastor of the church at Deep Creek, in 1813. Though unlettered he was a man of much ready wit and "had many rencontres in his more active days with opposers of different characters whom he always abashed and foiled." Benedict, *History of the Baptists*, II, 113. In his notebook Edwards has this statement in regard to the purpose to arrest him: "The Vile Col. F.....n accused him of aiding and abetting the Regulation whereof he was as clear as any man whatsoever. Yet a party of horse was sent to seize him but could not find him."

<sup>84</sup> Spotsylvania—Virginia county of that name.

<sup>85</sup> Shallow Fords was where the great road south through Salem crossed the Yadkin, near the southwestern corner of the present county of Forsyth.

<sup>86</sup> The Forks (of the Yadkin) church did not continue under that name for many years. It was situated near where the South Yadkin joins the larger stream. Mulberry Fields was in Wilkes, Mulberry being the name of a stream in that county. The minutes of Dutchman's Creek church, Davie County, indicate that large congregations were assembling at Mulberry Fields as early as 1773.



estate. No salary, except presents to the amount of about 20 £. The minister, Rev. Joseph Morphy; of whom before; his assistants are mes. David Allen,<sup>87</sup> John Cates and David Chapman. The families about 350, whereof 185 persons are baptized. They had their beginning partly by emigrant baptists from *Little-river*; partly by the remains of Mr Gano's church in Jersey-settlement, and partly by the labour of Mr. Morphy. These to the number of 32 were ( 1769) constituted into a distinct church. No very remarkable event since, except the rapid increase of the society.

HAW-RIVER<sup>88</sup>

So called from the north branch of Capefear river, near to which the meeting house stands, in Chatham county, 190 miles WbS from Newburn, and about 520 SW from Philadelphia. The church consists of 6 branches. One near Hawriver on the *Red-fields* where is a house, 32 feet by 24, built in 1769; another at *Collins mount*,<sup>89</sup> north side of Hawriver; another at *Deepriver* the south branch of Capefear; another at *Rocky-river*,<sup>90</sup> another at *Tick-creek*,<sup>91</sup> another at *Caraway-creek*<sup>92</sup> in Guilford county, in each of which places is a meeting house. The minister is Rev Elnathan Davis, who has to his assistance (at Deep-river) Nathaniel Powell; at Rocky river, Drury Sims; at Collins's mount, Thos. Brown; at Hawriver, James Steward, and at Caraway-creek, John Robins and George Williams. The families about 310 whereof 198 persons are baptized. Here ruling elders, elders, and deaconesses are admitted; also the 9 christian rites. No estate. No salary except presents to the amount of about 30 £. This their present state. They had their beginning in this manner. When Mr Mulky's<sup>93</sup> church went to South-carolina the following persons staid behind viz Nathaniel Powell,<sup>94</sup> Conrad Dowdy<sup>95</sup> and wife, George Williams, Wm

<sup>87</sup> David Allen was on the Surry Committee of Safety in 1775. *Colonial Records*, X, 251. In July, 1781, he had established iron works and his workmen were exempted from military duty by act of the legislature. *State Records*, XVII, 852, etc.

<sup>88</sup> Haw River church seems to have first been located near the site of the town of Bynum. The churches of Rock Spring and Pittsboro are regarded as being its successors, the former being situated about three miles north of Pittsboro.

<sup>89</sup> Collins Mount has probably been continued as the Lystra Church.

<sup>90</sup> Rocky River, constituted an independent church in 1776, still survives and is located about four miles north of Siler City. Its pastor, Drury Sims, had charge of Enoree Church, S. C., in 1790. (Asplund.)

<sup>91</sup> Tick Creek was situated near the town of Ore Hill. It soon passed out of existence, its membership probably being absorbed partly by the church at Bear Creek about three miles distant, which became an independent body in 1784.

<sup>92</sup> The church at Caraway Creek soon became extinct.

<sup>93</sup> Philip Mulky was a settler in that part of Edgewood which in 1758 was set off as Halifax. *Colonial Records*, IV, 764. A sketch of his life, in which an account is given of his wonderful conversion and powers as a preacher, is found in Edwards' *Materials* for S. C. He was ordained pastor of the Deep River church in 1757.

<sup>94</sup> The names of Nathaniel Powell, Nehemiah Howard, William Barber, and Isaac Brooks were signed to the Regulator Advertisement, No. 9. *Colonial Records*, VII, 734-35.

<sup>95</sup> Conrad Dowdy appears in the notebook as Conrad Dowde, and is to be identified with the name Conrad or Conner Dowd the same man being referred to by both names, the ancestor of the well known Dowd family of Chatham, Moore, and Wake counties. In Revolutionary times he was a pronounced Tory; furnished supplies to McDonald, and refused to furnish salt to the Whigs. *Colonial Records*, X, 602, 839. His home was in Chatham County, near the ford of Deep River on the great road south. Here Gen. DeKalb's army was encamped while waiting for Gates. *State Records*, XIV, 856. After the war by special act of the legislature his wife was given the right to his property which had been confiscated. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 638-39.



Barber, Nehemiah Howard and wife, Wm Smith and wife, Isaac Brooks<sup>96</sup> and wife, Mary Brooks, Sharper and Cates (negroes) Mr Hodge, James Steward, Simon Foe, Robert Calleh, Samuel Mash,<sup>97</sup> &c These (considering their church state was dissolved) were reconstituted, the last Saturday in Oct. 1764. The most remarkable events since are (1) They, by bearing their testimony against the Regulators, suffered much. The regulators taking their rifles from them. One Robert Math they whipped, and threatened to give him 30 lashes a month untill he consented.<sup>98</sup> They suffered also by the governor's troops, who seem to have acted on this principle "He that is not for us is against us." What enraged the regulators was a resolution in their church book. Dated the last Saturday in November 1769, "That if any of their members should join the regulators, or take up arms against laful authority he should therefor be excommunicated." Heavy contributions were levied upon them for which they have not been paid. The minister is

*Rev. Elnathan Davis<sup>99</sup>*

Born, Nov. 9, 1735, in Baltimore county, Maryland. Bred a seventh-day baptist; lived near James's river in Virginia to the year 1757 when he came to Hawriver. Baptized by Shubal Stearns [33] of Sandy-creek. Ordained Nov. 13. 1764 by Rev. Sm. Harris. Married Mary Collins by whom he has children, Ruth, Benjamin, Elizabeth, James, Jonathan. He is no schollar yet very successful. His conversion came to pass in this manner—He had heard that one John Stward was to be baptized, such a day, by Mr Stearns; now this Steward, being a very big man, and Shubal Stearns of small stature, he concluded there would be some diversion if not drowning: therefore he gathered about 8 or 10 of his companions in wickedness and went to the spot. Shubal Stearns came and began to preach; Elnathan went to hear him while his companions stood at a distance. He was no sooner among the crowd but he perceived some of the people tremble as if in a fit of the ague: he felt and examined them in order to find if it was not a dissimulation: meanwhile one man, leaned on his shoulder, weeping bit-

<sup>96</sup> Isaac Brooks, the ancestor of the Brooks family of western Chatham, was representative of Chatham in the Assembly of 1771. *Colonial Records*, IX, 139, 163. He had signed the Regulator petition, No. 9. *Ibid.*, VII, 735.

<sup>97</sup> Mash (Marsh) is the notebook reading, a name of a family represented by numerous descendants in Chatham County.

<sup>98</sup> This account is much expanded from that in the notebook which reads: "They resolved the last Saturday in November to excommunicate any that would join the Regulators." "Much threatened much . . . took many rifles. Robert Mash was threatened with 30 lashes a month till he consented to join the Regulators." The copy of this notebook in the North Carolina State Library entirely changed the meaning by inserting a "Not" and making the reading "that would not join the Regulators." The true reading appears as here given in the original in the Library of the American Baptist Historical Society. Mr. Edwards seems to have colored his fuller account by his desire to show that the Baptists had no part in the Regulator war. It has been seen in the notes above that of the small number who were transferred to this church from the extinct Deep River church at least four a year or more before had signed the Regulator petition.

<sup>99</sup> Elnathan Davis, about the close of the century moved to South Carolina, and labored in the churches of the Saluda Association, being still active in 1813, continuing "in his old age to be esteemed a father in the churches, having been a successful preacher of the gospel about fifty years." Benedict, *History of Baptists*, II, 160.



terly; Elnathan, perceiving he had wet his white new coat, pushed him off, and ran to his companions who were sitting on a log, at a distance; when he came one said, "Well, Elnathan, what do you think now of these damned people?" He replied "There is a trembling and crying spirit among them: but whether it be the spirit of God or the devil I don't know; if it be the devil, the devil go with them; for I will never more venture my self among them." He stood a while in that resolution; but the enchantment of Shubal Stearn's voice drew him to the crowd once more. He had not been long there before the trembling seized him also; he attempted to withdraw; but his strength failing and his understanding confounded he, with many other, sunk to the ground. When he came to himself he found nothing in him but dread & anxiety, bordering on horror. He continued in this situation [34] some days, and then found relief by faith in Christ. Immediately he began to preach conversion work, raw as he was, and scanty as his knowledge must have been

NEW RIVER<sup>100</sup>

[p. 35]

## SOUTHWEST

So called from a creek of the name, which empties itself into the Neuse, near which the meeting house stands in Dobbs county, about 60 miles W from Newburn. Ruling elders & laying on of hands admitted. The families about 100, whereof 72 persons are baptized and in communion, celebrated the 3d Sunday in May, August, Nov. Feb. This their present state—They had their beginning by means of Rev Charles Markland who removed hither from New [36] river about 1760 and preached to the conversion of fifteen. These in Oct 1762 were constituted into a church by a presbytery sent by Sandy-creek association. The constituents were Charles Markland & wife, Kittrel Mundine & wife, John Dellahunty & wife, Thos. Andrews & wife, John Cox and wife, Joseph Thraul, Mary Goodvine, Sarah Cox, Barbary Cox, Margaret Busby. The first minister is the present

<sup>100</sup> New River. According to a statement by Edwards in the text as explained by another statement in his notebook the first Baptist congregation gathered on New River was one of General Baptists, about 1743, by Paul Palmer. This seems to have had no pastor and to have been scattered on the death of Palmer about this time. But the Separate Baptists organized a congregation on New River which had a representative at the Sandy Creek Association in the year of its organization, 1758. This was their minister, Rev. Ezekiel Hunter. Semple, *Virginia Baptists*, 43. He was so successful in his proselyting that in 1760-61 New River had become "the seat of enthusiasm in this Province," and Mr. Stewart, the Bath minister, on a visit, found only a "few remaining Episcopalians there." *Colonial Records*, VI, 562. Mr. Hunter was in the Assembly of 1772-73, and died in 1773. *Ibid.*, IX, 384, etc.: *Kehukee Association*, 297.



Rev. Charles Markland<sup>101</sup>

He came hither from New-river, and was ordained by a presbytery from sandy-creek association Nov. 13 1763 to the pastoral care of the church.

[37]

GRASSY-CREEK<sup>102</sup>

[38]

LOCKWOOD'S FOLLY<sup>103</sup>

[40]

TRENT<sup>104</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Mr. Markland did not continue long in the ministry. In 1779 he was one of the commissioners to run the dividing line between Dobbs and the new county of Wayne. *State Records*, XXIV, 290. In 1785 he was named one of the trustees of Dobbs Academy at Kinston, *Ibid.*, 754. Hufham, says that Markham was "a favorite of Governor Caswell," being mentioned in a letter of the governor to William Blount, February 18, 1789. *North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers*, II, 155. Two members of the Church at Southwest afterwards became ministers. There were Kittrell Mondine, who in 1790 was assistant in the church at New River (Asplund). His will was probated in Jones County in August, 1791. *Olds, Wills*, 167. In the Revolutionary period he was a justice of the peace. *State Records*, XIII, 446. John Dillahunty was a soldier until 1781, when he became pastor of the Church at Trent. In 1796 he moved to Tennessee, Sprague. *Annals of American Baptist Pulpit*, 851f.

<sup>102</sup> The Grassy Creek church, surviving to this day, is on the stream of that name in the northern part of Granville County. Here in August, 1755 Rev. Hugh McAden, the young Presbyterian preacher, found a Baptist meeting house and preached to a people "who seemed very inquisitive about the way of Zion." Foote, *Sketches*, 166. These were then General Baptists. In 1756 or 1757 under the preaching of Stearns they became Separate Baptists and were organized into a branch of the Sandy Creek church. A preacher of this church, Rev. James Read, was a delegate to the first meeting of the Sandy Creek Association in 1758, and has left the only contemporary account of it. Devin, *Grassy Creek Church*, 52f. After the division of the Sandy Creek Association, which took place at the Grassy Creek Church in 1770, Grassy Creek became a member of the Virginia General Association and remained in that connection until the formation of the Tar River Association in 1805.

<sup>103</sup> Lockwood's Folly is on the extreme southern coast of the State about fifteen miles west of the mouth of the Cape Fear. It was settled by fishermen from Cape May, New Jersey. They were already Baptists when they came, but had no minister. In 1757 or 1758, Nathaniel Powell and James Turner of the Sandy Creek connection, came and preached for them. In 1772 Rev. Ezekiel Hunter of New River, preached and baptized among them, and organized them into a branch of his church. This church was for many years a member of the Sandy Creek Association, but this relationship having been broken by the disorders of the Revolutionary War, it became, in 1789, a member of the Kehukee Association. *Kehukee Association*, 296f. The presence of these Cape May Baptists at Lockwood's Folly was noted and discussed by more than one minister of the Establishment in letters to the Society. *Colonial Records*, VI, 730; VII, 164.

<sup>104</sup> I mentioned above that Edwards seemingly did not visit the southeastern portion of North Carolina and on that account failed to get information about the churches in this section. But in about a year after the settlement of the Separates at Sandy Creek, both Stearns and Marshall, his chief assistants, had made their way to the vicinity of New Bern and had aroused the whole country with their powerful preaching. Their preaching caused great excitement among the people, and there was no little enthusiasm among their converts, and they and their followers became known in this section as the Enthusiastical Sect. *Colonial Records*, V, 960f., VI, 59, 562, 316. Rev. Mr. Reed of New Bern insisted that they were "Methodists," even though this was stoutly denied by Mr. Whitefield. *Ibid.*, VI, 1060f. See also sketch of John Dillahunty in Sprague, *Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit*, 851. In a few years Stearns, Marshall and Rev. Philip Mulky, who had become minister of the Deep River Church, had evangelized all the region from New Bern to the South Carolina line and had established churches at Southwest, Trent, Neuse, New River, Black River, and Lockwood's Folly. Two of these had delegates at a meeting of the Sandy Creek Association in the year of its organization, 1758, Black River being represented by Rev. John Newton and New River by Rev. Ezekiel Hunter. Semple, *Virginia Baptists*, 43.



NEWSE<sup>105</sup>

[41]

PART III<sup>106</sup>TREATS OF THE TUNKER-BAPTISTS IN THE PROVINCE OF  
NORTH-CAROLINA

These are the same with their brethren in Pennsylvania with respect to faith and order, and therefore we need not repeat what hath been said in vol. 1. p 64. In this province there are three societies; one at

*Catawba*; the north branch of Pedee,      miles WbS from Newburn and      SW from Philadelphia. The families about 40 whereof 30 persons are baptized. The minister Samuel Sanders. Another at

*Yadkin* or the *Atkin*; the same branch of Peedee further from the fork;      miles SbW from Newburn, and      SW from Philadelphia. The ministers Hans and Conrad Kearn. The families about 29 whereof 40 persons are bap[42]tized. The third at

*Ewarry*; one of the waters of the north branch of Peedee,      miles from Newburn, and      SW from Philadelphia. The minister Jacob Studeman; the families about 19 whereof 30 persons are baptized. These all came to the province about 30 years ago having Rev. Dan. Leatherman at their head.

PART IV<sup>107</sup>

## TREATS OF THE GENERAL BAPTISTS IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH-CAROLINA

These are so distinguished from the particular baptists by their holding the doctrine of General-redemption. Their first rise and progress in this province hath been noticed before. At present there are churches or societies of them.

<sup>105</sup> The church on the Neuse mentioned here is said in Appendix I, below, to have Joshua Herron (Joshua Herring) for its minister. In the minutes of the Kehukee Association "Nuse River" church is said in one place to have James Brinson as minister and in another Joseph Willis. This church was admitted to the new Association of Burkitt in 1784, at which time Rev. James Brinson was pastor. At the same time the church on Swift Creek "in the same county," Craven, was admitted. It was no longer listed among the churches in 1811.

<sup>106</sup> There is no further reference to these Tunker Baptists. Probably they were soon merged with the Separates of Sandy Creek. Probably the three churches named were in the counties of Stanly, Anson and Montgomery and their membership was soon absorbed by the Separate Baptist churches in that section.

<sup>107</sup> These General Baptist churches were all that were left of the numerous and large churches of this order after the reforms of Miller and Vanhorn in 1755-56. Joseph Parker, who with Paul Palmer had gathered the first Baptist churches in the Province, and his cousin William Parker, and John Winfield retained their Arminian principles. Joseph Parker had established the church at Meherrin, but at this time had probably moved to Contentney. He gathered other General Baptist churches in eastern North Carolina, and served other weak congregations, which formed the nucleus of the present denomination of Free Will Baptists in this State. He died in 1791 or 1792. Wheeler, *Meherrin Church. North Carolina Bapt. History Papers*, I, 43f. The Church at Meherrin, near the present town of Murfreesboro, continued under the care of Rev. William Parker until his death in 1794, when it was reformed and became a member of the Kehukee Association. *Kehukee Association*, 208f. Pungo here called Matchipungo, was on a creek called Pungo in Beaufort County. Bear River is a stream on the line of Greene and Lenoir counties. Its pastor at this time was John Winfield, while William Fulsher had charge of the church at Pungo (Matchipungo).



## CONTANTONY

[43]

## MATCHIPUNGO

[44]

## MEHERIN

[45]

## BEAR-RIVER

## APPENDIX I

Hitherto we have treated the norcarolina-baptists under several distinctions. In the following table the distinctions are dropped, and their present state exhibited in one point of view. The churches and ordained ministers in roman characters; the branch[46]es and unordained ministers in italic; the letters r, s, a, t, denote regular, arminian, separate, tunkers

<i>Churches &amp; branches</i>		<i>Ministers &amp; assistants</i>	<i>When Constituted</i>	<i>From Newburn</i>	<i>Mem Fam</i>
Hitchcock	(r)	Henry Easterling	Mar.28,1772	200 WbS	14 28
Quehuky	(r)	William Burgess	Dec.11,1755	120 NW	115150
{ Tar-river-falls	(r)	John Moore	Dec.3, 1757	110 NW	64100
{ <i>Swifts-creek</i>		<i>John Tanner</i>			
{ Fishing-creek	(r)	William Walker	Dec. 6. 1755	150 NW	250500
{ <i>Benefields-creek</i>					
{ <i>Sandy-creek</i>					
{ <i>Giles's-creek</i>					
{ Lower-fishing-creek	(r)	Charles Daniel	Oct.13,1756	120 NW	74350
{ <i>Swifts-creek</i>		<i>William Powell</i>			
{ <i>Rocky-swamp</i>					
{ Pasquotank	(r)	Henry Abbot			172300
		<i>James Gamel</i>			
Bartee <sup>108</sup>	(r)	James Abbington			
Tosneot	(r)	Jonathan Thomas			
{ Tar-river	(r)	Henry Ledbetter	Apr. 3, 1761	165 NW	42 56
{ <i>Flatriver</i>					
Redbanks	(r)	Jeremy Ream			



<i>Churches &amp; branches</i>		<i>Ministers &amp; assistants</i>	<i>When Constituted</i>	<i>From Newburn</i>	<i>Mem Fam</i>
Great-cohara	(r)	Edward Brown			
Three-creeks	(r)				
Bladen-county	(r)	Steph. Hollingsworth			
Bear Creek	(r)	George Graham			
Swifts-creek	(r)	Joseph Willis			
{ Sa[p. <sup>47</sup> ]ndy-creek	(s)	<i>Tiden Lane</i> <i>James Billingsley</i>	Nov. 22, 1755	250 NW	14 40
Little-river	(s)	<i>John Bullin</i> <i>Edmund Lilly</i>	Sep. 9, 1760	270 SW	48 60
Rocky-river					
Jones's-creek					
Mountain-run					
Shallowfords	(s)	Joseph Morphy	1769	300 W	185350
Forks of the Atkin		David Allen			
{ Mulberry-fields		John Cates			
		David Chapman			
{ New river <sup>109</sup>	(s)	Elnathan Davis	Oct. 1764	190 WbS	198310
Collins-mount		Thomas Brown			
Deepriver		Nathaniel Powell			
Tick-creek		James Steward			
Caraway-creek		John Robins			
Rocky-river		Drury Sims			
		George Williams			
Newriver	(s)	Ezekiel Hunter			
Southwest	(s)	Charles Markland			
Grassy-creek	(s)	James Reed			
Lockwoods folly	(s)	..... Guess			
Trent	(s)	James McDonald			
Catawba	(t)	Sam. Saunders	1742		30 40
Atkin	(t)	Conrad Kearn			29 40
Ewarry	(t)	Jacob Studeman			30 19
Contantony	(a)	Joseph Parker			
Matchipungo	(a)	Wm Fulsher <sup>110</sup>			
Meherin	(a)	Wm Parker			
Be[p. <sup>48</sup> ]ar-river	(a)	Wingfield			
Newse		Joshuah Herron			

Churches, 32. Ordained ministers, 30. Members, 3591. Families, 7950. Souls, (allowing 5 to a family) 39,750.

<sup>108</sup> Barte, probably so pronounced in Edwards' day, Bertie, the church known as Sandy Run, near the site of Roxobel. This was afterwards the church of Lemuel Burkitt. Of James Abington, the pastor mentioned here, Burkitt said: "He was a man of bright genius, a ready mind, a good voice; and was a *Boanerges* in preaching the word. He was remarkably gifted in distinguishing between *Law* and the *Gospel*." Kehukee Association, 33f. Abington died in February 1772.

<sup>109</sup> New River in this place is clearly a mistake for Haw River.

<sup>110</sup> Wm. Fulsher was one of the petitioners who in June 1740 asked the Craven County Court for permission to build a house of worship, when on complaint lodged by certain justices of the court the petitioners were bound over to the General Court of the Province. His name is not found on a similar petition granted by the same court at its October meeting, giving the petitioners the "benefit of the act commonly called the act of Toleration." Craven County Records in offices of North Carolina Historical Commission.



## APPENDIX II

Governor Tryon is said to "have represented the regulators as a faction of Quakers and Baptists who aimed at oversetting the church of England" &c *Impartial Relation* p 38. The same insinuation has also

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(a a) This is not unlikely (allowing for contradiction) as he has made the society for promoting the gospel &c believe "Among other things his excellency hath observed, that the presbyterians and Quakers are the only tolerated Sectaries under any order or regularity every other being enemies to society and a scandal to common sens" See the appendages to the B. of Excter for 1770 p. 32.

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appeared in a Newspaper. If the governor did, as here suggested, he must be misinformed. For I made it my business to enquire into the matter;<sup>111</sup> and can aver that among 4000 regulators there were but seven of the denomination of Baptists; and these were expelled the societies they belonged unto in consequence of the resolve of the Baptist-association, held at Sandy-creek the second Saturday in Oct. 1769. "If any of our members shall take up arms against the legal authority or aid and abbet them that do so he shall be excommunicated &c." When this was known abroad, one of the four chiefs of the regulators with an armed company broke into the assembly and demanded if there were such a resolve entered into by the association? The answer was evasive; for they were in bodily fear. This checked the design much; and the author of the *Impartial Relation* is obliged to own<sup>112</sup> p. 16 "There (in Sandycreek) the scheme met with some opposition on account that it was too hot and rash, and in some things not legal &c." One of the seven baptists was execu[49]ted; and he at the point of death did not justify his conduct, but bitterly condemned it; and blamed two men (of very different religion) for deceiving him into the rebellion. His speech

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<sup>111</sup> Edwards and certain Baptist historians whose accounts go back to his, such as Purefoy, *History of the Sandy Creek Association*, seems to have regarded being a Regulator a "heinous offence." On this account Edwards has set out to clear the members of Baptist churches of any connection with the Regulators. It is possible that Edwards is correct in his statement that only seven members of Baptist churches were engaged in the battle of Alamance. Possibly the resolution of the Association mentioned in the text, which was not against belonging to the Regulators but against taking up arms to secure the desired reforms, had kept them from taking up arms. But if by Regulators are meant those who sought by peaceful assembly and discussion of their wrongs and by petition to redress their grievances, then it can be shown that nearly the entire Baptist population was on the Regulator side. James Billingley, as told in note above, admitted that he was in the armed force of 1768 which appeared near Hillsboro. He was a minister of the Sandy Creek church. Nathaniel Powell, minister at Deep River, signed that petition. Known as "Regulator Advertisement, No. 9." Francis Dorsett, later pastor at Rocky River, was even more prominent. We have seen that a large proportion of the members named for Haw River also signed the Regulator petitions. And the names of the ancestors of nearly all the Baptist families of Chatham County may be found on it. And what means the great exodus of the Baptist populations from all sections of the Province because of the futile issue of the Regulator trouble?

<sup>112</sup> Edwards has entirely misunderstood Husband here. By Sandy Creek, Husband in the passage referred to does not mean either Baptist church or Baptist Association. Husband means the Sandy Creek party of which he had been leader which had first tried to get redress by peaceful means and failing in that had practically disbanded.



at the gallows was as follows<sup>113</sup> "I stand here exposed to the world as a criminal; my life will soon be a change; God is my comforter & supporter—I am condemned to die for opposing government. All you that are present take warning by my miserable end when I shall be hung up as a spectacle before you. My first seducers were hunter and Gelaspie; they had often solicited me, telling that a settlement only was contended for with regard to public officers: who, they said, had oppressed the people; and that unless those measures were taken, there could be no remedy or redress hereafter. Thus they pressed me on by assuring me the disputes (as they called them) then existing, might be settled without shedding of blood. I considered this unhappy affair and thought, possibly, the contentions in the country might be brought to some determination without injury to any; and in this mind I joined the regulation. After I had listed under the banner of the Regulators I was ever after pressed to be made a leading man among them; and was one of the number who opposed col. Weddel with his troops; information prevailing that the governor was in his march to lay waste this country and destroy its inhabitants; which I now find to be false, and propagated to screen old offenders from justice—As to my private life I do not know of any particular charge against me. I received by the grace of God, a change fifteen years ago; but have since yt time been a backslider, yet providence, in which is my chief security, has been pleased to give me comfort under these evils in my last hour; and altho' the halter is round my neck, [50] believe me, I would not change stations with any man on the ground. All you who think you stand take heed lest ye fall—I would be glad to say a few words more before I die—In a few moments I shall leave a widow and ten children; I intreat that no reflection be cast on them on my account; and if possible, shall deem it as a bounty should, you, Gentlemen, petition the governōr and council that some part of my estate may be spared for the widow and the fatherless; it will be an act of charity, for I have forfeited the whole by the laws of God and man." This man bore an excellent character in so much that one of his enemies was heard to say "That if all went to the gallows with capt. Merrills character, hanging would be an honourable death." All pittied him; & blamed the wicked Hunter, Gelaspie, Howell, Husband, Butler and others who deceived and seduced him. Upwards of 70

<sup>113</sup> That Merrill made the speech verbatim as reported here is very doubtful, but there is evidence that he said something of the kind. Tryon's report is as follows:

"Benjamin Merrill a Capt. of Militia, at the hour of execution left it in charge to the officers to solicit me to petition his Majesty to grant his plantation and estate to his wife and eight children. He died under a through conviction of his crime and the justice of his sentence and addressed himself to the spectators to take warning by his suffering. His Majesty's indulgence to this request, would, I am persuaded, be dutifully and affectionately received by his unhappy widow and children." *Colonial Records*, VIII, 650.

Another account, however, represents the matter somewhat differently. It reads:

"By accounts from North-Carolina we are informed that Captain Benjamin Merrill, who was lately executed for high Treason in opposing the Career of Governor Tryon, died in the most heroic Manner, his children being around him and animating him at the Place of his Execution. He declared that he died in Peace with his Maker, and in the Cause of his oppressed Countrymen; and that he would not exchange conditions with even the Governor himself." *Colonial Records*, VIII, 639. From the *Boston Gazette* of August 12, 1771.

It is hard to believe that Merrill spoke as reported about the other Regulator leaders. Merrills' descendants are numerous, many of them men of high character and influence.



bills were found at the time but none was a baptist but this one. The four principals in the regulation are well known to be of other religious denominations. I thought it necessary to say so much lest the governor's words should in time make the North carolina regulation another Munster tragedy.

### APPENDIX III

The persecution<sup>114</sup> against the Baptists has not been so fierce in this province as in Virginia. Nevertheless some attempts were made to harrass them about five years ago. For that end the court summoned about 72 persons to appear against them; but in the course of examination the complaints of blasphemy, riots, heresy &c appeared so ill-grounded that the court soon dismissed the whole matter; and seemed to be ashamed of the [51] prosecution; as well they might; for the blasphemies the baptists were charged with, turned out to be scripture expressions, and their heresies, sound doctrines; the riots appeared to be raised, not by the baptists, but by the prosecutors who disturbed their assemblies

### APPENDIX IV

The money of this province

### APPENDIX V

Mention having been made of *associations* in this province, we add this appendix for a history of them; they are two in number; one of *regular*, and one of *separate* baptists. The first is called

### QUEHUKY-ASSOCIATION

This had its beginning at Quehuky (Aug. 3. 1769)<sup>115</sup> from whence it has its name; but is held in different places, the monday after the first Sunday in August; it was for a while called a *conference*, because it was considered as a branch of the Charles-town association. The sentiments and plan of this as[p. 52]sociation are the same with those of the association of Philadelphia. The other, is that of the Separate-baptists, called

<sup>114</sup> Just what persecution is referred to here is not certainly known. The only tradition with which it can be connected is that of the arrest and imprisonment of Rev. James Brinson, and of this, there is, so far as I know, no documentary evidence. The New Bern case of 1740, of which the records are still to be found in the Court Records of Craven County certainly reveal an ugly presecuting spirit on the part of certain of the court justices at that time; while the petition addressed by certain Dissenters to Chief Justice Montgomery in 1742, to which I have referred above, shows that constables were interrupting religious services. But such instances stand almost or quite alone.

<sup>115</sup> The *Minutes of the Kehukee Association*, show that the Association was organized November 6, 1769. For the next two years, however, it met in August. Burkitt and Read, *Kehukee Association*, says that the Association was organized "about 1765." This is the date usually accepted. Possibly it is explained by the *conference* mentioned by Edwards.



## SANDY-CREEE-ASSOCIATION

So distinguished from the place where it had its existence in 1758; but is held in different places the 2d Saturday in October. This association comprised all the separate churches for 13 years. The division was in 1771. The cause was, partly, convenience; but chiefly, a mistake which this association fell into relative to their power and jurisdiction;<sup>116</sup> they had carried matters so high as to leave hardly any power in particular churches, unfellowshipping ordinations, ministers and churches that acted independent of them; and pleading "That though compleat power be in every church yet every church can transfer it to an association"; which is as much as to say that a man may take out his eyes, ears &c and give them to another to see, hear &c for him; for if power be fixed by christ in a particular church they can not transfer it; nay, should they formally give it away yet is it not gone away.

<sup>116</sup> The Association agreed unanimously upon the division at its meeting at Grassy Creek church in 1771, and formed three Associations, the General Association for Virginia, the Sandy Creek for North Carolina, and the Congaree for South Carolina. The Virginia Association was careful to make provision the first year with unanimous agreement that "the association has no power or authority to impose anything upon the churches; but that we act as an advisory council." Semple, *Virginia Baptists*, 50.